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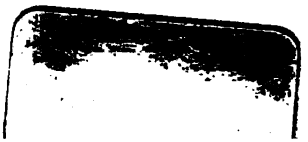

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THE CATHEDRAL:

ITS NECESSARY PLACE IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE CHURCH.

By EDWARD WHITE BENSON,
LORD BISHOP OF TRURO;
LATE CHANCELLOR OF LINCOLN.

τῶν σαλευομένων τὴν μετάθεσιν
ἵνα μείνῃ τὰ μὴ σαλευόμενα.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1878.

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THE CATHEDRAL:

ITS NECESSARY PLACE IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE CHURCH.

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EPISCOPVS

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE first idea of this little book was as a reprint of an Essay in the 'Quarterly Review,'* and of one in Dean Howson's volume.

Then it seemed better to recast them into one, with such added work as continued study and experience suggested.

They were written before I had the honourable delight of being for a few years a member of a Chapter.

And now that I have come through and out of that happy, busy life, I feel I have needs which I used to think bishops ought to feel. I look at the question from a third point of view, and I see the same solid certainty still: namely that, to the reviving corporate unities of the English Church in her Dioceses, strong and responsible Chapters must be the centres of force.

I venture to append something about the essay-in-facts on which a new Diocese is entering.

There are certain clauses of "The Possible Restoration of Conciliar Work to the Chapters"

* Vol. 130, No. 259.

which it seemed hardly fitting to re-phrase on purely personal grounds, lest I should seem to hesitate about the principles. I leave them, only praying that ὁ ἐλαχιστότερος of the English College of Bishops may have gained moderation along with deepening convictions; and that it may be remembered that some of the wording is of former years.

E. W. Truron:

Kenwyn.
Advent 1878.

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CONSPECTUS OF ENGLISH CATHEDRALS.

1. With Customs older than the "Old Foundation." (Four.)
   St. Asaph. Bangor. St. David's. Llandaff.
   Wrested into "New Foundation" in 1843.

2. Old Foundation. (Nine.)
   Chichester. Exeter. Hereford. Lichfield.
   Lincoln. London. Salisbury. Wells. York.

3. New Foundation of Henry VIII. A. (Eight previously Conventual Chapters.)
   Canterbury. Carlisle. Durham. Ely.
   Norwich. Rochester. Winchester. Worcester.

4. New Foundation of Henry VIII. B. (Five founded for new bishoprics out of monastic spoil.)
   Bristol. Chester. Gloucester. Oxford. Peterborough.

[Collegiate Churches of Canons founded under Henry VIII. out of Monasteries.
Beverley, Ripon, Manchester, Southwell, Wolverhampton, &c.
Recently suppressed, except:—]

5. New Cathedrals founded out of Collegiate Churches. (Two.)
   Manchester, 1846. Ripon, 1836.

6. Sees founded by fresh Benefactions.
   St. Alban's, 1876. Canons Honorary.
   Truro, 1876. Canons Honorary with an Act (1878) providing the creation of a Residentiary Chapter.

DATES OF THE BISHOPRICS AND DEANERIES OF THE OLD FOUNDATION.

Bishopric.	A.D.	First Norman Bishop. A.D.	Deanery. A.D.
London	604	1075	1086
York	625	1070	1090
Salisbury	705 (Sherborn)	1078	1091
Lincoln	678 (Lindsey)	1094	111
Chichester	709 (Selsey)	1070	1115
Bath and Wells	909 (Wells)	1088	1135
Hereford	669	1079	1140
Lichfield	656	1072	1140
Exeter	909 Crediton ? Cornwall	1072	1225

Deaneries in the gift of the Crown were founded along with the New Foundations, and Henry VIII. transferred to the Crown the appointments to all other Deaneries. Previously they had been in the election of the Canons.

NUMBER OF CATHEDRAL APPOINTMENTS IN TWENTY-EIGHT CATHEDRALS.

In the gift of the Crown, 28 Deaneries, 39 Canonries . .	79
In the gift of the Lord Chancellor, 12 Canonries . . .	
In the gift of 28 Bishops	90
In the gift of the Universities	5
	174

NUMBER OF CANONRIES SUSPENDED BY ACT 3 & 4 VICT. c. 113.

Residentiary Canonries	81
Other Canonries and Prebends	382
	463

THE CATHEDRAL.

I.—THE ABEYANCE AND THE NEW NEED.

THAT the Cathedral, as an institution universal throughout Europe, had distinct and progressive functions in relation to society and polity is probably not questioned. For many centuries the extension and augmentation of its system and resources were promoted by governments, by potentates, by landowners, and by the Christian masses. It battled long with monasticism. Puritanism assailed it in vain as the stronghold of church order.

The era which removed the great lay foundations of the monasteries as past service was not only satisfied with the working of the secular chapters, but recognised in them an increasing promise.

To the nine old foundations of England were added by authority of Parliament and the Crown, eight secular chapters, in place of dispossessed chapters of Regulars, as well as five new cathedral bodies with new sees, and five great collegiate churches of similar constitution up and down the country.

They were "popular" institutions; part of the grand idea of the time under which every order of genius and capability was to find its shelter, its training, and its avenue to influence. What was finally performed for them was but a fragment of what was planned. The provision was but partial. Then families, then parties fell on them as prey. After some immature promise, and after some struggles for fair usage, they passed for a time into the hands of an oligarchy. Their "liberties" (so called surely in irony) were guarded by immunities from without, and within by what one indignant but powerless council had called "an unmeasured exaction of oaths." Thus they remained too sacred and strong to be improved: sources of revenue to mercantile dignitaries, the children's children of the adherents of successive governments. What Gibbon wrote ninety years ago of the universities was even more true of our still wealthier cathedrals: "We may scarcely hope that any reformation will be a voluntary act, and so deeply rooted are they in law and prejudice that even the omnipotence of Parliament would shrink from an inquiry into their state and abuses." Thus they forfeited all sympathy. They forgot their traditions, their origin and their design. If ignorance of all such guidings possessed the legislators who in the beginning of this reign devised for their spoliation and mutilation the most unintelligent and contradictory of statutes, several of the

chapters of that day were as unable as they were unwilling to enlighten them.* One chapter met the commissioners' inquiries by the declaration, "There is no one here who can with accuracy read the most important records in our registry."

The most far-reaching, the most effectively and beautifully constituted, the but lately most influential Christian institutions of the country, had been enervated, paralysed, devitalised until the basest appointments to their honours could injure them no further. And still suppression was withheld. The merits, the services, the earnestness of some who still worked and prayed in them kept up the belief that there was a vitality below worth preserving.

The devout and gentle sentiment which lingered still about them was the protest of an ignorant but true instinct, which distantly felt, yet failed to express, their religious power and spiritual office as distinct from the parochial system, and distinct from the religious foundations of the universities.

Meantime church life had been growing poorer and thinner, in default of their activity. Not only is it true that, as the commissioners of 1854 remark,† "almost all the best writers of the Church of England have been connected with her cathedrals;" but the older annals both of our own and foreign Churches teem with the noble characters formed by

* 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113. † First Report, p. xxx.

chapter life and prebendal work, and the distinctive influences which pervaded them. For us, no sooner had they been crippled than the returning forces of church life (which itself had something to do with the indignation under which they fell) reinvested them with significance. Again their function rises into importance. We turn to them now as to no other institution we possess. Energetic prelates of America who have been among us spoke of cathedral bodies as an immediate need.* The progressive character of the diocese of Bloemfontein, finds "its vigorous centre of work and influence" in the working reality of its incorporated cathedral canons with the active offices of provost or dean, precentor, and chancellor.† For the "most enfeebling influence on colonial church life is felt to be a selfish 'congregationism,'" and "it can be stemmed," we are told, "only by diocesan officers not dependent on local support, and more free from local duties."† And thus at the same moment when near £100,000 for episcopal and capitular needs is promised to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the Australian Newcastle has bequeathed to her, by her princely prelate, a quarter of a million for her cathedral and her chapter. What is true of America and the Colonies

* See too the Bishop of Iowa's pamphlet, 'The American Cathedral,' Davenport, Iowa. The Rev. F. Granger's 'The Cathedral System adapted to our own wants in America,' with Bishop Cleveland Coxe's preface, and Prof. Egar's article in 'Church Review,' July, 1877, put the case, I believe, strongly.

† Bloemfontein Quarterly Papers, Oct. 1877.

is true of England, for yet more complex reasons. Various growing pressures demand the resumption of the most active canonical functions, with places and with means for work.

The Universities (as distinguished from the Theological Faculty in the Universities) have been made to surrender all special obligation of work for the Church of England. Those who claim for her a special influence in life and thought, for grace within her a distinct operation; who desire that our clergy should be trained still in schools which shall maintain their pure influence and that of their families in social life: schools, meantime, which shall advance and not retard a full appreciation by our clerics of the thought and science of their own time: those who, looking out on the fields of Nonconformity, see little reason why many a separation should not be absorbed in a larger charity: those who, in whatever attitude, desire to approach foreign Churches with something of mutual understanding—all who believe that to effect these great ends, set before our generation, there is needed no narrowing scheme but a manifoldly multiplied host of cultivated, politic, tolerant men, students and masters, pastors and missioners of every order; and that this training will require every possible gradation of knowledge and experience, modern and ethnic, Continental, Oriental, American, to be brought to bear on it—cannot but look to the Cathedrals, so adequate, so ready for the emergency in particulars which it

would be impossible to create, as the natural school in which the general and theoretic teaching of the University may be specialised and applied to the actual circumstances of the practical church-life of the present. Specially we dare to look to their "sociological" as well as their material outlines, to the type of society which they preserve to us—type of "strength in co-operation, strength in due subordination of varying gifts, strength in religious fellowship."* For it is almost amazing to observe the clearness with which the lines of plans, grand beyond any recent conceptions, remain traced in the ground when roof and pillar are gone to build the neighbouring mansions. Retrenchment, diversion, and redistribution have done their work with axe and hammer, plane and file; but the dawning age gives signs of being an age of reconstruction. As in art, so in polity, we have, when principles are lost, to study and to reproduce before we can develop a style all our own. To be constructive has rarely been the function of civil powers, rarely of the highest ranks. Other classes create; and in creating new-create themselves. The laity are less indifferent than ever to the standard assumed for clerical obligations, more impatient of perfunctoriness and incapacity. In all departments of national life the balance of means to end is receiving truer adjustment.

* Prof. Westcott.

II.—TREATMENT OF SUBJECT:—HISTORY, CENTRAL IDEA, RENOVATION.

In the following pages we propose to ourselves a diffident endeavour after a task which may perhaps excuse some failures. We shall attempt *First*, to realise a cathedral of the old foundation in its pristine vigour, without ignoring its shortcomings. To make this worth the drawing, it must be not a fancy sketch or composition of details from various churches, but a truthful study of one.* *Secondly*, we must try to understand the essential ideas which underlie canonical work, as the foremost of diocesan institutions—in other words, the relation of the chapter to the bishop. *Thirdly*, to inquire how far true lines of development as well as lines of reform, external or inner, are indicated by the unrepealed codes which each chapter still possesses. For we must remember that every cathedral still has in countless respects, in spite of the smooth mowing of 1840, living characteristics of diversity. A true intelligence will deprecate nothing more in the process of reconstruction than uniformity of structure under varying conditions. If it is true in polity as it is in physiology that complexity or "subordination of parts indicates a high

* For a masterly picture of a Cathedral of the New Foundation I may be permitted to refer to Canon Westcott's articles on Cathedral Work in 'Macmillan's Magazine' for January and February, 1870.

grade of organisation," what shall we say of church-politicians who, having under their hand the venerable cathedrals of Wales—three of them with the elaborate and business-like constitution of the old foundation, and one of them preserving, besides that constitution, practical and speaking forms, which went back direct and unbroken to the very source of canonical life in the ninth century—enacted in 1843 that one and all should be conformed to the pattern of "any cathedral church in England founded by king Henry the Eighth"? The "New Foundation" of Henry VIII. had been adapted to make as little change as possible in the "Regular Chapters" which it superseded. But to reduce the "Old Foundations," and a Foundation older than the oldest, all to that even level! These legislators did for the spiritual reality of our churches exactly what churchwardens did for fabrics. One strict uniform wash of lime flattened moulding and sculpture, confounded tomb and reredos and screen, and obliterated diaper and fresco for evermore.

III.—THE OLD ACTIVITY.

We proceed to the First section of our work, the Old Activity. And it will be understood that, unless reference is made to others, the system here described is that of a single cathedral, the "Church of Lincoln," for many centuries "the most glorious and

vastest of all chapters."* That cathedral possesses a complete body and summary of statutes and customs drawn up and ratified in the year 1440, a period of immense capitular activity. The Bishop of Lincoln, with characteristic spirit, has printed this volume for the use of his own chapter.†

* Mag. Vita S. Hugonis, iii. 8.

† Extracts from it had been printed in Wilkins's 'Concilia,' and thence transferred. But it was almost unknown till lately, and was so, one would think, in 1852, to the chapter of that date, when they informed the commission then sitting that the statutes "relating to the duties of the dean and residentiary chapter having been established during the prevalence of the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom, the duties detailed in the statutes relate to forms and proceedings during divine service in the cathedral in accordance with that form of worship. The statutes have not been remodelled at the time of, or since, the Reformation, and are not applicable to the performance of divine service according to the Reformed Church of England." In point of fact, directions as to divine service form only a small part of the whole, and even as to this part the only inapplicable directions are those rubrics (often from missal and breviary) incorporated in the statutes, for which other rubrics and services are legally substituted in the Prayer Book. Services such as those of installations, regulations concerning the places of the dignitaries, the apportioned psalms whose daily recitation is assigned to each member of the body, and numerous practical usages, even as to the ordinary services, are still carried on in conformity with the statutes, which the whole chapter promise to obey in all things lawful, and which comprise a large body of enactments, still acted on as the valid constitution of the body. As to the Divinity Lecturer (whose office was also, in the answers of 1852, ignored), he is not only provided by the statutes, but the holders of the office have with little intermission lectured.

It is singular that the then body should have taken a view so different from that taken by other cathedral bodies; *e.g.*, Exeter, which stated that the "fundamental provisions of its 'custommary' have been acknowledged and acted upon." The most ancient existing customs of the

The grandest collection of this kind is the magnificent volume prepared for the dean and chapter of St. Paul's by Dr. Sparrow Simpson: a very mine of capitular history, and worthy of the other works of that foremost of modern chapters. Those enactments were, however, never summed into one

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churches in question are no less detailed in one statute-book than in the other.

It was stated also to the Cathedral Commission (1st Rep., 1854, p. 254) that "the statutes (of Lincoln) embodied in the 'Novum Registrum' do not appear to have been altered or modified except as to the time of residence" (a very questionable statement), "and except by the award or determination of Bishop Alnwick, anno Domini 1440."

However, the 'Novum Registrum,' dated Michaelmas, A.D. 1440, is posterior to the 'Laudum' of Bishop Alnwick, which is dated 23 June, 1439, and was sealed at Nettleham, 29 June, 1439; so that the 'Laudum' did not modify the statutes as contained in the 'Novum Registrum.' The 'Novum Registrum' and the 'Laudum' both give ample evidence of very frequent modifications. The following Lauda are expressly mentioned, and partly accepted, partly overruled; viz., of Bp. Robert Grosteste, 1235–1253, of Bp. Rd. Gravesend, 1258–1279, Bp. John Dalderby, 1299–1319, Bp. John Gynewell, 1351–1362, Bp. Hen. Beaufort, 1397–1404, Bp. Wm. Gray, 1420–1435, besides some important modifications called "Articuli quos ipsemet Decanus in præsentia Dni Thesaurarii Angliæ inter se et capitulum concordatos fore fatebatur ac ibidem ratificavit et subscripsit." The rule traceable through this interesting register is the same which prevailed elsewhere. "The statutes were enacted from time to time pro re natâ. They were framed in the form of injunctions from the bishop as visitor, requiring the more accurate observance of existing ordinances, or of new statutes, either suggested by the chapter to the visitor, or framed by him at their request and with their concurrence, and finally accepted by the body. No instrument has ever been allowed to be of any force unless ratified by the bishop and chapter, and authenticated by the seals of both."—*Answer of Chapter of Exeter.*

authenticated code, though happily collected for the purpose more than once. The compactness, precision, and present validity of the Lincoln 'New Register' make it most convenient for our use.*

Before we proceed to the examination of this document of A.D. 1440 we will take passing glances at three earlier periods, just to observe the exceeding vigour and variety of the elements of the cathedral as "a thing of life" indeed.

The members of the original chapter selected by the founder Remi were known personally to the chronicler, Henry of Huntingdon,† himself the son of one of them, and in his time a canon and archdeacon of the same church. He has given a fine graphic sketch of their spiritual and secular activity in his 'Epistle to Walter.' The canonical qualifications are grouped in rich variety among them. The Ecclesiastic proper, 'The Priest to the Temple,' the Ascetic, the Theologian, the Three Schoolmen

* The publication of all cathedral statutes, and the editing of a great Corpus Cathedrale, or Textus Capitularis, is a work for the future. Whole paragraphs and pages in the statutes of different cathedrals run almost verbatim, even with their little playfulnesses and quotations. Then, again, the local alterations, omissions and insertions are characteristic. The Lincoln Book names Rouen as the source of its main uses. Salisbury, St. Paul's, &c., seem to draw from the same; yet many points must be due to Sarum itself. There is a whole field of criticism waiting to be worked in this subject. The statutes of St. Peter's at Rome are of a wholly different and inferior type.

† Fl. A.D. 1135–1154. Wharton's 'Anglia Sacra,' vol. ii p. 694.

or Canonists, the great Preacher; then the winning manners of the Administrator, the polished elegance of the Scholar. Three-and-thirty of the first occupants of the Lincoln stalls and their first successors are mentioned by name with various touches of character. The whole passage is too long to quote and too beautiful to spoil. Perhaps the following are the most interesting:—

"The founder Remigius I never saw, but of the venerable clergy to whom first he gave places in his church, I have seen every one. Ralph, the first dean—a venerable priest. Reyner, first treasurer, full of religion: had prepared a tomb against the day of his death, and oft sate by it singing of psalms, and praying long whiles, to use himself to his eternal home. Hugh, the Chancellor, worthy all memory, the mainstay, and as it were the foundation of the church. Osbert, Archdeacon of Bedford, afterward Chancellor, a man wholly sweet and loveable. William, a young canon of great genius. Albin [my own tutor]. Albin's brothers, 'most honourable men, my dearest friends,—men of profoundest science, brightest purity, utter innocence, and yet by God's inscrutable judgment they were smitten with leprosy—but death hath made them clean.' Nicolas, archdeacon of Cambridge, Huntingdon and Hertford,—'none more beautiful in person, in character beautiful no less;' 'Stella Cleri,' so styled in his epitaph, a married canon, and Henry's

father. 'Walter, prince of Orators. Gislebert, elegant in prose, in verse, in dress. With so many other most honoured names I may not tax your patience. *Amabant quæ amamus; optabant quæ optamus; sperabant quæ speramus;*' and Henry closes the noble roll with the lesson of activity they had left behind them—'to make life something different from a sleep.'"

Under Henry II. Bishop Saint Hugh is successfully resisting king and pope in their endeavours to intrude persons into canonries. Doctors of the Sorbonne and of Italy are anxious to be attached "to so glorious a company even by the slenderest title"* of unendowed canon, and are declined by the bishop because, though he admires their learning, piety and morals, they are not suited otherwise to the specialities of capitular work. On the other hand, he offers stalls to suitable persons on the condition of their coming at once into residence and devoting themselves to the discipline and preaching required of them. The functions of the canons were clear and effective. They are selected for their sagacity and high character, they are in closest association with the bishop, he relies on their advice and employs them in administration.†

* "Insignis multitudo clericorum.. vel perexili titulo." (Vit. Hug. iii. 9, 10.)

† "[In præbendis] viros sapientes et scientia præditos *lateri* suo sociare satagebat, quia absque virorum proborum adjutorio nec populo nec clero convenienter prodesse sufficeret. Horum consiliis fretus et comitatus auxiliis," &c. (Vit. Hug. iii. 8.)

Shortly before the middle of the thirteenth century arose the great controversy between Grosseteste and the chapter, which ended in the complete recovery of the already dropped principle of visitation. Grosseteste's Epistles give an almost complete account of the events.

His predecessors had been strange prelates. Hugh of Wells, whom he succeeded, is described as "the foe of every religious man." The precedent of visitation was supposed to have lapsed at Lincoln, and indeed throughout England the bishops are described as "negligent and somnolent"* in their office. Grosseteste in his first diocesan visitation removed and replaced the heads of eleven religious houses. He then turned his attention to the cathedral. But upon his commencing a survey of its prebends, the vicars and chaplains received notice from the chapter to disobey him. Sermons were preached against him in the nave; the canons obtained a licence "*from the people*" to appeal to Rome; and when he arrived at the chapter-house on the day appointed for his visitation of the cathedral it was empty. He dreaded the "immortal suits" which would result from an appeal to Rome, but was willing to submit the cause to be decided by divine law, canon law, and common law to any impartial arbitration. This he owned was difficult to find; "for who would dare to offend such powerful bodies as all the chapters of England,

* "Negligentes et pigritantes."

which would make common cause with Lincoln?"* "His own chapter, no doubt, for such flagrant contempt merit suspension and excommunication,† and it is better even that scandal should arise than that truth should die—still the excommunication of 'such men, so venerable and so great' would set the whole country against him." He refrained therefore from this, but prohibited the Dean, Precentor, and Treasurer from entering the cathedral doors, and in this he was apparently obeyed.

He made every attempt to obtain an arbitration satisfactory to both parties; but would be content, he said, with no "momentary phantom of a settlement;" nothing but a "true peace" upon sound principles would enable either bishop or chapter to exercise their functions. The chapter insisted on the case being carried to the pope, and then the decision was given speedily and absolutely on the side of Grosseteste.‡

Both *canon law* and *common law* were clear upon the subject, and if the decision had been given the other way it would have been in defiance of history

* Grosseteste, Ep. 80.

† It would not have been competent for Grosseteste at once to excommunicate them, as above stated. He seems, however, to contemplate an intervening process, since he says "suspenderem et postea excommunicarem."

‡ A similar controversy on visitation arose between St. Charles Borromeo and his canons *De Scala*, was similarly referred to the pope, Pius V., and similarly decided in favour of the Archbishop.

and the universal practice of Europe. If *jus divinum* (which also they both appealed to) might be translated on such a subject, "common sense," it must have decided the same way. Grosseteste and his chapter understood it to mean most astonishing arguments from Scripture and natural history. These were so two-edged that perhaps the historical and legal points were even to their minds more convincing; yet there was something grand in the conviction that the laws which govern a chapter were an outgrowth of the laws of nature and of revelation, and could be investigated upon the principles of physical and moral science.

The universal capitular system was now pronounced to be in force here. Monastic exemption was held in no way applicable to the practical diocesan body of dean and canons, and, with one little ebullition of anger at the period fixed for visitation, they seem to have accepted the position with loyalty.

In the course of the next 190 years no less than six Lauda* are mentioned as given by the bishops of Lincoln to the chapter and so becoming part of the

* See note on p. 10. *Laudare* from the tenth century onward is of frequent use in the sense of *arbitrari* to arbitrate; as "convicta culpa quæ sit laudata per judicium parium suorum."—Laudum. 1. A decision by arbitrament—"Rex Angliæ dicto eorum et Laudo se submittet." 2. Consent, approval. 3. Statutes, "Lauda formare ac reformare." The instances are from Ducange. It is in the first precise sense that it is used in the Lincoln Book.

cathedral statutes, and then we come to our complete Register of the year A.D. 1440. And first we must observe how it was made.

A little before the middle of the fifteenth century certain dissensions between the dean and chapter had reached a complication which induced both sides to have recourse to the visitor's arbitration. He therefore summoned the whole body of the chapter,* the dignitaries and the officers before him. They

* "Nos Willelmus vocatis de mandato nostro per Decanum et Capitulum, juxta Ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudinem loci, Canonicis et aliis dignitates et officia atque personatus in eadem obtinentibus universis de consuetudine hujusmodi evocandis; et 9 die mensis Junii sic vocatis viz. discretis viris et comparentibus, et in capitulo adunatis, præmissa et alias convocationis prædictæ causas aperuimus super quibus communicatione et deliberatione præhabitis . . . . . nobis et omnibus sic convocatis videbatur saluberrimum fore" &c. . . . [Marginal note: "Canonici convocantur per Decanum et Capitulum et non Episcopum."]

Preamble to the Laudum, p. 114:—"Considerantes quod id quod omnes tangit ab omnibus debet approbari, et ne quis confratrum nostrorum dignitates personatus aut præbendas in ipsa Ecclesia nostra obtinentium in ea parte possit conqueri se contemptum, et aliis ex causis nos moventibus, ad certam diem in capitulo ejusdem ecclesiæ eosdem omnes et singulos fecimus convocari, quibus dictis die et loco comparentibus, aliquibus, viz. personaliter, et nonnullis per eorum Procuratores comparentibus," &c.

Here it is assumed that the bishop summons as many or as few as he will. To summon all is an act of grace in some degree.

The precise use of terms in all cathedral statutes indicates the universal and early character of their institution. *Dignitates, personatus, officia*, are defined by De Bouix (p. 79) to be the three tituli beneficiales. *Dignitas* is præcedentia cum jurisdictione in foro exteriori. *Personatus*, præcedentia sine jurisdictione. *Officium*, administratio absque jurisdictione, et absque præcedentia.

attended (some by their proctors), in the chapter-house. They and the dean of the day ("Decanus modernus"), Macworth by name, Chancellor to the Prince of Wales, made unqualified resignation or "compromission" of all existing rights, privileges, customs, and enactments "ex alto et basso, absolute et libere," into the bishop's hands. William Alnwick, lately come to his throne, was an able statesmanlike prelate. He was the framer of the constitution and statutes of Eton. He seems to have been appalled by the condition of the Lincoln statutes exhibited to him "full of incertitude, obscurity and contrariety, contained in divers books, and on sheets arranged in no order." This was due to their continuous accretion. After twelve months he pronounced an elaborate Laudum, or arbitration, on forty-two articles exhibited by the chapter and fourteen exhibited by the dean. This was only the last of many such trials, *sumptuosæ quamplurimum*, which had been brought before various prelates, and been carried even to the Roman curia. On nearly all the articles the dean was shown to have been the aggressor and in the wrong. Some of these are serious, amounting to assumption of the whole capitular jurisdiction; others singular, as for instance, the great danger to which the ministers are exposed at night owing to his keeping the close gate unfastened; again he brings armed retainers into the chapter meetings; altogether they give a most interesting picture of

cathedral life in the 15th century, and of its intense activity. The abuses and irregularities are described as of long standing, and as having grown up, says the judge, "mainly owing to the non-residence of the Deans." Yet nothing can exceed the delicacy with which 'Dominus Decanus' is treated. Precautions are taken against the repetition of disorders, and the past is condoned.

But a new and still more important business had been undertaken at the same time, and within two months more was complete. Bishop Alnwick reviewed the whole of the ancient statutes, which appear to have existed in four different documents, dating from the year A.D. 1000, and to have been derived from the statutes of Rouen Cathedral;* of the various Lauds pronounced by at least six different bishops; of the numerous private agreements with the founders of not less than twenty chantries; and of the records of traditional custom by which much both of the business and of the religious work of the cathedral was regulated; on this head

* Till lately a dilapidated copy of the oldest Custom Book was all that was known of the more ancient Statutes. The name given it in the New Register, 'Le Black Book,' indicates either a French notary, or is a strange sample of the mixed tongues. It occurs again in 'Le Galilee Court.' Compare forms frequent in Lincolnshire, such as Holton-le-Clay, Ashby-de-la-Launde, Carlton-le-Scroope, &c. Canon Wickenden has just found in the Muniment Room fine copies of the Consuetudines, the Liber Niger, The Statute, and other documents.

Bishop Alnwick cited and examined numerous witnesses. There was much that was contradictory and obscure in this mass of material, and there were many new regulations to be introduced. Nothing can be more creditable than the compact and distinct work which, divided into five books, was shortly presented to the chapter by the bishop, by them accepted, and then ratified and authenticated "with the seals of both" as the sole embodiment of their law—and which, together with the Laudum itself, is at the present day accepted upon oath by every canon or prebendary at his admission, and is the law of the cathedral in all points in which it has not been overruled by later statutes of the realm. The subjects of the five books of this New Register* are as follows:†—

1. The "primary institution" of the Church of Lincoln, and the number and value of the dignities, canonries, and prebends.

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* *Registrum*—(1) The volume into which precedents are entered (*regesta*) as they occur. 'Statuta Arelat. MSS. Art. 95, De Regestro Comunis. Item statuimus, Quod Comune teneatur habere unum librum de pergameno, in quo transcribantur omnia instrumenta ad Comune pertinentia.'—Lit. Phil. vi. ann. 1339, tom. 6. 'Ordinat. reg. Franc.' p. 529, "Gardez les Registres, bons usaiges, et coustumes anciens."—*Ducange*. (2) The customs themselves. The older book was called 'Consuetudinarium,' at Exeter the 'Customary.'

† The order of the London 'Collection of Dean Baldock,' A.D. 1305 (and, no doubt, of older ones) is the same. In the contents, as described in the preface, much of the wording is identical; *e.g.*, "De Canonicorum ingressu per Canonicam installationem et de communiter spectantibus ad eosdem."

2. Of the admission (ingressus) of canons and prebendaries.

3. Of their life (progressus).

4. Of their departure (egressus), which may occur through "resolution in death," through cession, privation, or translation; and of their rights on each of these occasions.

5. Of the perpetual chaplains of the chantries, and of the vicars and other inferior ministers.*

A full discussion of the interesting and often amusing detail is not within our scope. For the present we must simply glean what we may out of the five books, illustrative of the true principles of Cathedral life and Cathedral work. "Gleaning" describes the operation; for the primary institution, the life and "progressus" of the canons are, as regards enunciation of principles, the tantalising parts of the work. The first is brief, a few historical memoranda; the second is almost purely technical and legal. In fact, the *theory and principles* of the life and work are assumed to be so clear and familiar as to require no expression. Yet in

* In this Fifth Book is inserted entire a much more ancient document — the 'Vicar's Statutes.' They frequently correspond word for word, for sometimes twenty or thirty lines together, with the statutes of the Church of Sarum, in other parts not to the same extent. A comparison with the Statutes of Rouen might explain this. In the Cathedral Commission Report the Salisbury Statutes are dated 1268, and attributed to the dean and chapter.

some respects the 'Laudum' and the 'New Register' are more valuable than a book of principles would have been. They take the system in full work. They show what was considered possible and practicable after above four centuries of experience; they give glimpses of what the great institution was doing, not what it was supposed that it *ought* to do; and, in plain language, they expose social corruptions (for example, with regard to wills and inheritances, and not as to these alone,) which under the then wretched circumstances (pathetically called '*moderna*') of the courts of civil and church law must be regarded as having been inevitable, but which, under our "modern" ones, would be not only inexcusable, but inconceivable.

There was not in the minds of the old cathedral lawgivers the slightest idea that canonical life and cathedral work began and ended with "*Cathedral Service.*" The service was indeed all but incessant. The Worship of the diocese was centred here, and "rose like a fountain for it night and day." The employment of the vicars, though the staff was immense, is treated throughout the statutes as a laborious occupation. But with regard to the canons, although attendance at this worship was an essential part of their *life*, it was the *smallest* part of their *work*. Of it the 'Novum Registrum'* [*]

* In the same words as the Statutes of St. Paul's and (?) Salisbury.

says, "We exact but a *moderate* assiduity: not that a canon should be compelled to attend all the Hours; but one Hour every day, *or* the High Mass . . . unless he has leave of absence, or is ill, or is occupied elsewhere in the affairs of the church." *

The corps of the cathedral consisted of the prebendaries with their vicars and their superior officers. The prebendaries were fifty-two in number, each for one week in his turn taking the principal position in the cathedral services; in the rest of the year it is assumed that their occupations will be such as not in most instances to admit of their residing in the close,† or if they *do* reside, of their attending more than one of the hours of service daily. If they undertake to reside for thirty-four weeks of the year, a house is to be provided for them, and they are to draw a dividend from certain funds. Their name is derived from their *prœbenda*,‡

* N. Reg. part iii. p. 49, "assiduitatem exigimus *moderatam*, non ut omnibus horis cogatur interesse . . . sed *unâ* horæ [daily] vel missæ majori nisi minutus [*i.e.* bled] fuerit vel infirmus vel *aliàs in negotiis ecclesiæ occupatus*."

† Two hundred and fifty years before this, the wiser and truer policy prevailed of appointing only such as could reside.

‡ It is interesting to notice the vicissitudes of names. The cathedral body were *canonici* (canons) originally; but many were unendowed, living on their own means, or on dividends from the common fund (communa). Those who were endowed were canonici prœbendati or prœbendarii. If they resided they were canonici residentiarii, prœbendati or not as the case might be. Since the prebends have been confiscated to non-cathedral purposes, the name of *canons* has been retained for the residentiaries who are alone endowed, and that of *pre-*

each having one or more estates stationed throughout the diocese; on each estate a house of residence with a "familia," and usually a church, either served by themselves "with cure of souls"* or of which the patronage is in their hands, and a school under their direction. Each præbenda was a centre of civilisation to its district. The duties and powers of the prebendary with respect to his prebend are defined and urged in this view. He is exhorted so to administer it that his people may desire to continue ("*appetant commorari*") under his headship. It is organically connected with the cathedral, and visited at regular intervals by the dean, chapter, and bishop; any abuses observed in the holder's administration are to be corrected by these authorities at his expense, and appeals lie against him or from him to the cathedral courts.

The prebendaries and officers formed the Chapter. There was no line drawn between little chapter and grand chapter. There was only one body.† What-

bendaries designates the unendowed holders of stalls. Still it is highly undesirable that in cathedrals of the old foundation "prebendaries" should give up the ancient style, and call themselves "canons" only, as if setting their seals to their own despoliation. "Canons," of course, they are (p. 47, and note) but the good of the church would require them to be more, and they should keep the name in which they rightfully assert that claim.

* Rob. Grosseteste, Ep. lxxiv.

† 'Quinquaginta et sex canonici cum capite suo (sc. bishop) corpus et capitulum constituunt: negotia ecclesiæ et secreta tractant' (p. 35). Grosseteste remarks on the incorrectness of using the term Chapter, as if the bishop were not part and parcel of it. Ep. lxxiii.

ever portion of this met, according to rule, in the chapter-house, was "a chapter." They absolutely elected their dean, and nominally their bishop; for the rest, we find members of the body actively employed at the royal and papal courts, as well as in their more distinct functions of counsel and assistance to the bishop * who selected them, and in business which is described as laborious, under his direction. Accordingly we find among them not only theologians and preachers, but famous legists. They were not all priests; some belonged also to monastic orders, but these could not hold prebends and resigned them if they had been prebendaries before their vow, and so remained as simple "canons." Not only study † is contemplated in the statutes, and in part provided for by the still noble though despoiled library, but higher education was systematised in the "schools" which the chancellor "ruled," and in which he with his staff lectured not to young students only, but to ripe masters.‡ The results appeared in the fact, that from among the prebendaries of the particular cathedral in question every English see has been filled, and many of them twice; for of the fifty-two stalls all but one, and some of them more than once, have given a bishop to our church. Giraldus Cambrensis, when

* See note, p. 13.

† 'Studium' is one of the employments in which the dean is warned not to interrupt the canons by too frequent chapters.

‡ See note, p. 109.

Archdeacon of St. David's, at the age of forty-five, spent nearly six years in studying at Lincoln* under Chancellor William de Monte. Among great foreigners, Thorlák the ecclesiastical lawgiver, and first saint of the Icelandic Church (whose day is still their national festival), studied first at Paris and then at Lincoln; his nephew and successor Paul was probably a Lincoln student too.†

Altogether prebendal life was then very laborious.‡ Some cathedral statutes enjoin that no one

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* "Ubi sanius atque salubrius in Anglia Theologicam scientiam vigere cognovit." — Ger. C. de rebus a se gestis, lib. iii. c. 3.

† "Bp. Thorlák was born in A.D. 1133, was ordained priest about 1152, and shortly afterwards went abroad; first to the University of Paris, and thence to Lincoln, where he 'contracted much learning useful to himself and to others.' He returned to Iceland, after being six years abroad; his stay in Lincoln would fall in about 1158–1160. In 1178 he received ordination as Bishop of Skalholt, and died 23rd of December, 1193. In 1199 he was by the Icelandic Parliament declared Saint (Thorlákr Helgi), and a very popular saint he was. The Thorlák's Mass is at present the introduction to Christmas. It is a significant token of the independence of the ancient Church that he was canonized by the Parliament without any confirmation from Rome asked or given. His name is not, therefore, in the Roman Calendar. In his own country he was an undisputed national saint.

"A minute account of his life as bishop is contained in the Thorlák's 'Saga' (published in 'Bishupa Sagas,' i. 87–199), written by a contemporary cleric, and bearing witness to his learning, gentleness, and purity of life.

"Saint Thorlák's nephew and successor, Paul (d. 1211), also studied in England. The place is not recorded; it may have well been the place where his uncle studied before him." I have to thank for this note the learned author of the 'Icelandic Dictionary,' Mr. Gudbrandt Vigfússon of Oxford.

‡ "Residentia debet esse la-

shall be appointed whose health is not likely "to endure the labour." One of the reasons which Alnwick gives for assigning large salaries to the holders of stalls is the way in which they "devote themselves to the public service in self-imposed tasks" over and above "their daily expositions, and constant toils and numerous burdens."* The advantages, however, of the position were such as even then to excite the mundane cupidity of men who had no intention of working; while the honour of being associated but titularly with the 'noble multitude of clerks' who frequented Lincoln was, as we have seen, coveted even by famous savants of foreign Universities. One of Bishop St. Hugh's severest wrestles with the Crown arose from royal attempts to force courtiers into stalls, and the reputation and the peacefulness of the vast establishment† were much increased by the determination with which, while he sought for men to fill them, 'eminent for the prerogative of diligence and literature,' he yet would not accept the most eminent, unless he could satisfy himself that they were 'of quiet and modest spirit.' In the same tone we find the great Grosse-

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boriosa, non desidiosa." — Fagnanus ap. Van Espen, 'De Hist. et Off. Canon.' iii. v. § 2.

* "Utilitatibus desudant . . . voluntariis obsequiorum necessitates . . . . tractatus quotidiani, continuique labores, multaque onera."—MS. Nov. Reg. p. 61.

† "Cunctis ecclesiis gloriosius copiosiusque," id. iii. 8.

teste — philosopher, statesman, patriot — not only defying an excommunication for resisting the pope's demand for a prebend for his nephew, but, with an eye to the substantial work which he expected, refusing Cardinal Otho's request that he would confer a stall upon one whom Grosseteste himself admits to be 'eminent in science and illustrious character' simply on the ground that work at Lincoln was not such as would suit him best; while to another scholar of high character he offers a small prebend on condition of his coming at once into residence, there to help feed the flock with the three necessaries, 'the word of preaching; the pattern of a holy conversation; and the devotion of single-hearted prayer.' It was for the sake of greater efficiency in this same work, 'to devote himself to the duties of his prebendal stall, that earlier in life he had himself resigned a higher dignity, and become by his own act a poorer man.'

It is difficult to realise the amount and diversity of interests which centred in this now quiet retreat. From foreign, national, and diocesan relations, from the numerous monasteries which these 'Seculars' superintended, and on which their larger spirit had salutary effect,* let us turn to the cathedral itself, and what was going on around it.

* Compare in 'Nov. Reg.' the contrast drawn between the pettiness of monastic discipline and the wider spirit of the cathedral.

I. There was then, first, the *School of Architecture*, which, under the "Masters of the Fabric," was creating continuously from century to century a "Christian Parthenon on a Christian Acropolis," maintaining communications with the progressive architects of the Continent,* radiating adaptations through the diocese, and influencing far and wide the taste of the country in every department of art.

II. There was the *School of Music*, which, under the headship of the 'Præcentor' (second, be it remembered, only to the dean), had offshoots, song-schools (scholæ cantus) in every parish of the diocese, maintained a strict 'inspection' through a 'master of song' (magister cantus) in the city and county of Lincoln (p. 28), and gave 'grants in aid' to every school which was not wholly maintained either by some prebendary, or by the rector and curate of the place.

The central school of the Choristæ themselves (who were not to be 'mere hirelings,' nor wholly free scholars,† and who were to be of good birth as well as character) was to be a kind of model, with its strict discipline yet 'gentle punishments'‡ under the precentor's immediate direction. The

* This I say diffidently, and believing Lincoln to be a truly English building; but I think it difficult for anyone to study the architecture of Fécamp in detail without concluding that the old connection between the two churches was kept up.

† MS. p. 28; see the direction "ut expensis puerorum parcatur."

‡ p. 28; "levi castigatione."

boys resided with one of the residentiary canons as warden, had an "industrious seneschal" to cater for them, a trusty man to attend them out of doors, and either one or two masters for singing* and grammar.†

III. There was the still more important *School of Grammar* under the Chancellor. He is responsible for all the grammar schools of the city and county, and for all appointments made to them, save only singing-schools, prebendal schools, and (how modern an exception!) those schools which are maintained *by local managers* 'for the instruction of their parishioners in faith and letters.' He was in fact a minister of education. At St. Paul's London and elsewhere, this officer "has charge of education, not for the church only, but for the whole city. All teachers of grammar are subject to him."‡ An-

* The remarks on the style of singing, Nov. Reg. pp. 46, 49, are too long for quotation, but they are excellent; insisting on a sharp, crisp style, on the management of the breath, and on the necessity for intelligence of the sense. Some ancient precentor's precept, taken from among the directions prefixed to the Sarum Portuaries, "Auscultando cane; simul incipe; desine plane," is quoted both here and in St. Paul's statutes.

† "Chorus non obest scholis" is the dictum which "experientia teste," is laid down by an old author in answer to a natural inquiry. He points especially to the schools of the Barnabites throughout Italy, and to the *litterarum studia, contionum munus, animarum directio, conversio infidelium*, conducted by all those orders which found the full daily *usus Hymnodiæ* (choral service) to be *maxime carus et utilis*. Ap. Mirœum Cod. Regg. et Constt. Cleric., 57.

‡ Dean Colet's 'Epitome of the Statutes,' p. 227 in the same grand volume of St. Paul's statutes.

tiently he was chargeable with the maintenance of the fabric of St. Paul's School. At York his office is more antient than that of dean or precentor, under the title of 'magister scholarum,' which corresponds to the foreign *scholasticus, scholaster, escolâtre,* or *capiscol,* and to the *archischola* of "St. Osmund's Register" at Sarum.

IV. There is the *School of Divinity* in the city itself. That it was large and widely popular, we saw; but we have no means of learning its numbers. It was like the Schools of Letters 'ruled' by the Chancellor, and all appointments in it were to be filled up by him. He was also the keeper of the seal, custodian of the charters and muniments, and the official correspondent of the chapter. It was from cathedral institutions that universities borrowed the idea of this principal literary officer.

"It is, and it ought to be," says Alnwick, "his office to rule the Theological School; also actually to lecture in the same." Besides these more clerical or technical lectures, he had fixed days on which he delivered popular lectures or sermons in English (*ad populum in Anglicis*). He also was responsible for arranging (*ordinare*) the *lectiones* or *collationes* read in the chapter-house, which are characterized (remarkable phrase) as having proved "most effectual for the reformation of faith and morals." Lastly, he was the warder of the precious treasure of the

libri scholastici, except such as were 'chained in the library.' His multifarious duties, and the extent of the field, made the Chancellor, as we have seen, the 'principium et quasi fundamentum ecclesiæ,' and rendered the office of a vice-chancellor indispensable.

In some cathedrals, as Exeter and London for instance, later prelates added further livings or estates to an office which bore such heavy charges for the diocese at large. But the essential idea and function are long anterior to and independent of such special endowments.

The principal work of the cathedral Chancellor is thus defined by Dean Colet:—"He is the teacher in erudition and doctrine, and is bound to lecture publicly in divinity, unto the knowledge of God and instruction in life and morals." An interesting document, an ordinance of Bishop Fitzjames (A.D. 1506) illustrates the inherent, universal duty of a Chancellor.* He relates "how of antient date it had been healthfully ordained with a view to the discipline, the cherishing through sacred doctrine, and the nourishment with the Divine food of God's Word, of all the ministers of St. Paul's, and of all clerks and presbyters dwelling in the glorious city, and of the rest who daily flow together there, that the Chancellor should lecture CONTINUALLY, or

* St. Paul's Statutes, p. 413. Compare also the extracts from their various documents supplied in the admirable answers of the Chapter of Sarum. *App.* 1, *Cath. Rep.* 1854, p. 367.

provide for lectures in divinity . . ." He notices how well this duty had been discharged, until, "through the carelessness, fault, sloth, and negligence of certain Chancellors," it had been intermitted from time to time, and at length dropped. "Grave complaints have been addrest to him on the loss of what was so useful and necessary, and to devout souls so profitable (*commodifera*). The present Chancellor, however, declares that he has given it up on account of the word CONTINUALLY, such a duty being a natural impossibility." The bishop naïvely remarks on the fallibility of human judgment; since directions felt to be most desirable one day are next day intolerable. Still he consents to interpret the word "in a benign and favourable sense," and accordingly defines three terms in the year during which the chancellor is henceforth to lecture thrice a week.*

v. On the "*Archdeacons*," whose head-quarters were here, it is not necessary to dwell. Each had one of the seven counties of the diocese under his

* In foreign cathedrals (it may be well to observe) the duties of the English *Cancellarius* ('Chancellor of the Church') were frequently divided between two canons, the Scholasticus and the Theologus, and the name was seldom applied except to the *Cancellarius Episcopi*, or *Chancellor of the Diocese*. Still the council of Tours (A.D. 1583) imposes on "the scholastici and *chancellors*" of cathedrals and collegiate churches, to teach accurate reading of the service itself; and one of Bourges requires that "Scholastici and *Chancellors*" should be Doctors or Licentiates of Divinity or Canon Law.

direction, and all the jurisdiction since lost through "the heedlessness of archdeacons or the powerfulness of bishops"* was not without its burdens. Their jurisdiction is expressly fenced off as "exterior" to the cathedral.† They rank below precentor, chancellor, treasurer, and sub-dean, and, unless they have prebends themselves, below the fifty-two prebendaries.

Is it a trace of the very ancient connection of St. Paul's with Rome itself that there, alone in England (in spite of the connection of its statutes with our main stream—which in my imperfect information I venture to derive from Rouen), the Archdeacons and Treasurer rank next the dean above the thirty canons, just as at St. Peter's at Rome the Archdeacon and Altarist have precedence next the dean among the thirty canons?‡ Or is it (as Dr. Simpson conjectures) a trace of the original Rule of canons—that of St. Chrodogang of Metz, of which more hereafter? So it was at Llandaff, and lasted till the late massacre; the bishop there sitting in the stall on the right, and the archdeacon on the left of the choir entrance. The bishop there still "had unity of possession with the chapter and constituted part of it," and so late as 1218 "the *property* of the chapter was undivided from the

* Frances, c. 80, n. 24.

† See note on p. 57.

‡ At St. Peter's an archpresbyter (a cardinal) is over the dean.

bishopric and the possession not severed"* nor divided into separate estates for the canons.†

VI. Under the "Treasurer," besides the management of various funds, and the responsibility of the magnificence with which the pages of Dugdale flash out, as it passes from its old home to the sideboards or crucibles of Henry VIII.'s friends‡ (and may such moveable magnificence never mock the cathedral of the future!), was the supply of large quantities of warm cloth for the poor, distributed by the canons; and the dispensary, of which the medicine-niches yet surround the walls of an apartment in the cathedral.

The present statutes say nothing of the road-making and bridge-making which is described in other cathedral statutes as part of the "work." But their present form sufficiently explains this; and probably the character of the country made it at least as imperative here as elsewhere.

VII. Lastly, we come to the "*Cathedral Service;*" the sole function of the great institution which was limited to its own walls. The ceaseless Supplication for Grace, the perpetual Intercession, the endless Praise—unbroken yet ever new—like Nature

* Cath. Report. 1854.

† See p. 48, *et seqq.*

‡ Canon Wickenden, who is devoting his great skill and zeal to the documents of the Muniment Room, has printed with elucidations a correspondence between the chapter and John of Gaunt's executors. It illustrates what must have been a most precious portion of the Lincoln Trésor—the glorious 'Joyalx' and works of art which he bequeathed to it. 'Archæological Journal,' vol. xxxii. page 317 (1875).

herself with daily-varying, never-changing majesty —practical issue of a still languidly-acknowledged theory.*

Every prebendary provided a Vicar for the choir service. It is a common idea that priest-vicars arose out of the absenteeism of the canons. The fact is, that the vicars were the working staff of "cathedral service," while the canons were the servers of "cathedral work." There were properly as many vicars as there were canons. The vicars of the non-resident canons were a body corporate under the dean and chapter. The residentiaries had chaplains or commensales who were subject to their own "dominus" alone; lived in their houses, served their private chapels (of which one remains in the chancery or chancellor's house at Lincoln), and attended them in choir. They and the vicars served the choir whether their prebendary was present or not, and in no case relieved the latter of his duties, which were absolutely distinct not only as to the 'work,' but in the service of the choir itself. No one but a prebendary could act as deputy to a prebendary in the church. So at Exeter "each of the twenty-four canons had his vicar from the commencement." † The same is the case in every old cathedral.

* On this important subject—the true theory of the perpetual Λειτουργία of the cathedral—we may be permitted to refer to the beautiful chapters on the Daily Office in the work of the Dean of Norwich, 'On the Principles of the Cathedral System,' 1870.

† Cath. Comm. p. 163.

VIII. We need scarcely speak of the accretion of twenty chantries, each with its chaplain, and the "pauperes clerici" who guarded the altars. This system was an after-growth, having no original place in, and no true connection with, the cathedral system; a temporary enrichment, but, finally and justly, one of the most active causes of dissolution. When at last the fifteenth-century prelate commissioned two diocesan preachers (who should have had other subject-matter) to stimulate the decreasing supply of devotions for the fabric by proclaiming the chapter's care for the souls of departed benefactors—when the offerings of the dead became the trade of the living, the heart of the fabric was near ceasing to beat. But this sad side of the picture, to which it is only just to advert, need, nevertheless, not detain us, for it belongs only to the centuries in which decay was at work, and is in itself the principal symptom of decay.

And now it is worth while to pause for a moment to remember that of this great establishment in its integrity—setting aside the chantry priests—not a single line of the plan has perished. Not one office or title (*perexiles tituli* though they have all become for the time) is extinct, with the significant exception of the treasurership. Even that office has never been abolished. It is said that the last treasurer of Lincoln watched the last packages 'of the vessels of the house of the Lord' carried

forth 'for the king and his princes,' and then exclaimed, "Ceasing the treasure, so ceaseth the office of the treasurer," flung down his keys on the choir-floor, and never sate in his stall again. The chapter never filled up his office. But vicars, prebendaries in full tale, chancellor, precentor, dean, sub-dean, succentor, vice-chancellor, have never ceased to be appointed. It is said that when it was proposed to leave the prebendal stalls unabolished while confiscating the funds, the proposal was passed by the House of Commons with a derisive cheer. Members of the then Parliament thought they 'knew the clergy' too well to suppose that they would accept offices which entailed expense, trouble, journeyings, labour in writing and preaching without reward for the sake of maintaining the ancient forms of their cathedrals in honour and respect. Yet they were mistaken. Prebendal stalls are filled, and the duties accepted with pride and without hire. It would be difficult to find one instance in which they had ever been declined, and all prebendal stalls are full. Is there not significance in the fact?

In speaking of the daily corporate life of this great body, our space is too scant to allow us to dwell on the many delicate and even tender provisions for mutual respect and harmony, on the precautions taken for the honourable discharge of all private debts; the kindly appeal not to take up the time of the chapter with personal grievances;

the visiting of the sick; the thrilling vigils of all the canons through the night on the occurrence of a death in their ranks; the kindliness towards the 'familia' of the deceased enjoined on the successor; the penalties for violation of such respect; the undisappointed confidence with which the keeping-up of the grand choir-books and lectionaries is committed to the private expenses of the Precentor and Chancellor, and the provision of the countless necessaries for divine worship, similarly to the personal charges of the Treasurer; or again, the assignment of a portion of the Psalter to the bishop and each prebendary, so that the whole Psalter might be daily recited as a common act of private devotion, and with the thought and memory of common obligation. But there are three points to which we must advert; they show as well as any number could do, what was the spirit which animated that life.

(1) *The consideration of inferiors.* In the payment of every dividend and every due the inferior ministers and vicars receive their full salaries before any other persons receive anything; "not in order to give them higher place," but because they are "Christ's poor," who depend on this their labour "bearing the burden of the night as well as of the day." So also all their special allowances are to be paid at short intervals. This to promote "gladness and sedulity."

(2) *Elevating influence on subordinates.* Every prebendary on his Sunday-turn entertains nineteen of the under officers of the staff at dinner; and daily through his week others, some at luncheon, and some at breakfast The dean, about thirty times a year, gave a "honorificus pastus" in his own house to all the choir and all the vicars, with a view to making "life and work more pleasant to them." One dean having evaded the rule through frequent absence, is enjoined to give the feast equally whether present or absent. But the rule is that the giver shall dine or sup along with his humbler guests, and cultivate personal relations with them.

(3) *Companionship.* Its importance to "bachelors," occupied as these men were, is fully recognised. Each prebendary in residence is as far as possible to make a companion of his chaplain; he is to be his commensalis, he is to accompany him in walking. To us, with our restless movements, and distant communications and crowd of acquaintances, this seems too formal. It was otherwise when all these conditions of society were reversed. But even in modern times it is well known how affectionate and lofty have been the friendships of ecclesiastics thus paired, as they loved to think, after the pattern of the first disciples; and we can still recognise the beneficial influence the system would have on the selection, and in the cultivation of the younger man.

From the society itself we pass to the considera-

tion of the head of the society. The *Dean* was not an original officer in every chapter even in England, and his position is difficult to delineate. His powers were always great, but indefinite. "What appertains to the office of dean is but slightly laid down in law."* He was simply "pre-eminent." Older than Grosseteste† was the gradual assumption of that place with respect to the chapter which belonged originally to the bishop, but which it rarely seemed worth the bishop's while to battle for.‡

During "the quiet period"—the Church of England's siesta-century—a deanery has been often indeed a well-merited reward, which the Church of England was only too blest in being allowed to dispense; a position in which wit and learning, eloquence, hospitality, and gentle Christian life have most fairly flourished. But antiently the very variety of influence assigned in different cases§

* "Quid ad Decani officium spectet modicum reperitur in jure decisum." (Nov. Reg. MS. p. 10.) Wason, Dean of Liége A.D. 1030 (in a very amusing letter in Miræus, p. 93), says that the name *Decanus* is rarely used in large churches where there are from forty to sixty canons. *Prælatus* was more usual.

† Ep. 127, ed. Luard.

‡ In one see an eminent bishop never saw his cathedral during an episcopate of twenty years. It is grotesque, that, in some cathedrals, the bishop cannot cross from his throne to the pulpit without invitation; in others does not ordain without obtaining permission. The late Master of Trinity (Dr. C. Wordsworth, in his eloquent letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 1837) expresses sorrow and surprise at the part taken by the bishops against the chapters. But at that time the estrangement was complete.

§ "Secundum varias diversorum locorum consuetudines in diversis consistit Officium Decani." (Nov. Reg. l. c.)

tells of long-felt difficulties. When chapters were in vigour it was no easy place to fill. Here is a specimen: "A dean succeeds to the government of a chapter, say rather, to the guiding of *an untameable beast*. It is hard and difficult to govern a small house, but great chapters are so much the worse, because there are as many opinions as there are individuals. If a dean be charmed with the dignity of his office, let him fear its burdens; let him fear its perils. It is no easy task to recount them." *

In some cases a dean was but one voice in the chapter; in others he was equipollent with the whole chapter; now independent of it, now superior to it, and indeed its visitor.† Alnwick declares that no law has defined the status of deans, and that it is so various in various places that local custom alone could regulate it. But he does not hesitate to affirm that, while the Arch-Enemy "continually sits in ambuscade waiting for ecclesiastics," and while there arise "innumerable scandal-fraught contentions, so inveterate that an infinity of ills and perils to the souls and bodies and properties of our church have come to pass, and, grievous to say, are coming to pass incessantly," the main cause of the cathedral mischiefs and evils of his day was to be found in the conduct of the deans. So obvious was this that the prebendary's

* Roderic of Zamora ap. Van Espen, vol. ii. p. 660.

† This is clear enough from the statutes, in spite of Grosseteste's logical proof that the dean was *vicar*, not *visitator*. Ep. 127.

very oath of obedience quaintly anticipated it. At his admission he promises to obey the *chapter* "vobis (*i.e.* decano) absentibus *aut negligentibus*," "when you, the dean, are absent or neglectful."*

Reserved for our days have been decanal propositions to diminish decanal difficulties by dissolving canonical corporations and making the dean into a grander rector, with vicars for curates. And we have had episcopal propositions to loosen episcopal knots by promoting bishops to be deans. Let us trust we have heard the last of these things. A diocese and its clergy need great, bright, central houses of work, worship, counsel, and sympathy; and a house must have a head. A bishop, too, needs them. Let everything be done to bring them to their ideal and to invest them with all that can advance their "gladness and sedulity." Incidental difficulties attach to these as to other approximating positions of almost plenary power. But how abundantly clear it has become in our own days that such difficulties, which seemed insuperable in Castles of Indolence, descend to zero when all feel alike that powers are conferred not for the 'magnifying of offices,' but for 'the edifying of the Body of Christ.'

* Few sketches of mediæval life are more amusing than the history of Dean Macworth's ingenious evasions and tyrannical contraventions of the statutes.

IV.—THE IDEA.

RELATION OF THE CHAPTER TO THE BISHOP.

We have set before ourselves a picture of the life that once was in one great cathedral. It is time that we look at the whole institute in relation to the episcopal order and to the church constitution in which it was so conspicuous. This is our *Second* head.

What is the essential Relation of a Chapter to a Bishop? of the diocesan church to the head of the diocese? What was the original relation? Did it subsist unaltered? If alterations took place, were they in obedience to an upward and advancing law?

It might have seemed natural to begin sooner at this beginning. But I remember that old prince of lecturers, Adam Sedgwick, telling us how, in forty years of lecturing, he had one year emptied his lecture room. It was the only year in which he began at the beginning—with the Primitive Rocks. "Since then I've always begun with what was just in sight, and worked backwards." So we have been looking at what was "just in sight"—a body of cathedral statutes still in force, and not so long ago instinct with energies. What, then, *were* cathedral statutes as a piece of the world? What had they to do with things in general? What did they grow out of?

The statutes of a cathedral were in no respect

privilegia; they were but a fragment of a powerful and well-understood system of law—*jus commune*—which existed throughout Europe. Statutes framed for particular cathedrals could not contravene this, and could modify it only in some particulars.*

The exceeding antiquity of the Cathedral Institution is indicated among other things by its diffusion, or rather by its universality. Its origin cannot be traced to any enactments — imperial, papal, or conciliar. It is not possible to point to any episcopal chair which is not at once seen surrounded by its 'senatus,' its 'presbytery,' 'council,' or 'cardinals.' The name Chapter (*capitulum*) designates this body, but it became fashionable only with the popularity of the monastic orders from whom it was adopted.

The episcopal character of this society was shown

* Compare even the latest views on this subject, for instance, in the council of Cologne, A.D. 1536: "Habent fere quotquot sunt cathedrales ac collegiatæ ecclesiæ *suum volumen peculiarium statutorum* .... et quantumvis *pleraque inter hæc iniqua reperiantur*, adiguntur tamen omnes [newly admitted canons] ut ad ejusmodi statutorum observationem, *etiam ignari quid contineant illa*, citra ullum delectum esse jurejurando alligent." The bishops and chapters are desired to review these volumes, and "*quæ disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ minus consentanea reperta fuerint resecare*," and are admonished "*ad coercendam illam immoderatam in capitulis juramentorum exactionem*" (part iii. c. 19, Labbe, vol. xix. p. 1238, ed. Venet. 1730). Van Espen remark son how perilous a foundation any canons rely who under pretext of Statutes (and what would he say to "Precedent"?) venture to claim exemption from wider ecclesiastical definitions of their onerous duties (tom. ii. p. 642, ed. Lovan. 1778).

in their wearing habitually the same dress as the bishop, namely the rochet, instead of the alb, and in some chapters even the mitre.* In these early episcopal institutions there are of course resemblances to the arrangements of the fourth century, and though it would be uncritical to connect them (as was formerly done) in the way of historical descent, yet it would be equally uncritical to say that the example of Augustine was not commonly present to the minds of the societies of the eighth or ninth.

"I was made a bishop," Augustine says.† "I saw it was necessary for a bishop to be showing constant attentions to all comers, or even passing strangers . . . It would have been unbecoming to allow such habits of intercourse with the world in a monastery" (such as he had lived in hitherto) "and therefore I wanted to have with me in this bishop's house of mine a monastery for clergy.‡

* Toledo, Mainz, Vienne, Mâcon &c. Walcott, Sacred Archæology, p. 384. The general dress was, over a surplice, the plain black (or violet) short sleeveless, "choral cope" (perpetuated with little change in the dress of the Burghersh chanters, or four senior singing boys at Lincoln), which has descended in the chimere of the English bishops. It was laid aside in the daytime in the summer half.

† Serm. 1 ad Pop. Hippon. "De communi clericorum suorum vita."

‡ The word *monasterium* was not uncommonly applied even in the middle ages to cathedrals and collegiate churches which had no extant connection with monastic orders; *e.g.* Arras, Cambray, Malines, Lière (*Atrebatense, Cameracense, Mechliniense, Liranum Monasterium*), are quoted from documents. Perhaps

This is how we live. No one in our society is allowed to have anything of his own. Perhaps some have. Well, it is not allowed. If any have, they do what is not allowed."

The term *Canonici*,* *i.e.* "inscribed on the canon, matricula or album of the church," is said not to occur before the sixth century, but the associates so called did not differ materially from earlier societies.

The members of this council were naturally at first the "*parochi civitatis*," presbyters and deacons of the city only;† here and there we find traces of their sharing the bishop's table and purse; usually their maintenance was from the common church fund, without a common establishment.‡

The eighth and ninth centuries, however, saw community life very generally introduced. In the

this may, through some traditional use, explain Lincoln Minster, Beverley Minster, Wimborne Minster, York Minster, Southwell Minster.

Lye's Anglo-Saxon Dict. gives mynstre-preost = parochus, mynsterham = Ecclesiæ domus, mynstre cloensung = Ecclesiæ reconciliatio.

* Thomassin (I. iii. 8, 7) quotes from the Historia Augusta the word *Canon* as of frequent occurrence to signify the *Catalogus Militum*, to whom the distributions of annona were made, though, in common with Van Espen, he unfortunately considers the name Canonici to come from their observing, or even from their duty of studying, canons.

† Thomassin shows and accounts for the fact that we not unfrequently find mention of bishops among those bodies. (De Benefl. P. I. lib. iii. c. vii. § 9, 10.)

‡ This earliest condition was represented among us for ages at Llandaff (p. 34, *supra*).

Rule drawn up for the reform of the Canons of Metz* by their great Bishop Chrodogang (Godegrand) A.D. 755, Chancellor to Charles Martel and Pepin, which Rule was widely diffused through the influence of Charlemagne and Louis I., occurs perhaps the first absolute prescription of a common dormitory and refectory. There is to be a gated close within which some only of the canons are by licence from the bishop allowed to occupy separate "mansiones." The heads of this society are next to the bishop,—(1) The Archdeacon, (2) The Primicerius,† (3) The Cellerarius. Even this last officer is suffered "to do nothing without the bishop or his deputy."‡ The bishop, though it seems that they were not under his roof, is spoken of as a constant living member of the society. Each member makes a gift of his property to the cathedral before admission, receiving during his life the interest of it. For a time then after this period an ecclesiastical family is formed as in the days of St. Augustine or St. Honoré. Various councils in these centuries adopt or modify this rule, and enjoin or assume on the part of canons a life of absolute intimacy with their bishop.

Thus in A.D. 789 we have in Capitulare of Aix-la-

* Labbe, Concil. vol. ix. p. 594.

† Not *primitiarius* as Thomassin and others write it—Cf. Secundicerius, &c. [cera].

‡ Labbe, Regula S. Chrodogangi, cap. xxv.

Chapelle:*—"They must live canonically after their rule, and *the bishop must direct their living* as an abbot does that of monks." In the second council of Tours, A.D. 813, "The canons and clerks of the cities who *dwell in the bishops' houses* are to live within closes, to sleep all in one dormitory, take their meals in one refectory . . . . *Food and clothing they are to receive according to the means of the bishop.*"† And in 876 in the councils of Pavia and Pontion it is ordered "that bishops shall institute in their cities close to their church a cloister in which they themselves with their clergy, according to the canonical rule, may serve God, and constrain their priests not to leave their churches and presume to live elsewhere."‡ These last and various other enactments are in pursuance of the elaborate Regula Canonicorum of the Council of Aix in 816, which was based on the principle of common life, and of which copies were sent with an imperial letter to every metropolitan.§

* 'Capitulare Aquisgranense' (A.D. 789) c. 73; Labbe, Concil. vol. ix. p. 26.

† Thomassin, p. i. lib. iii. c. ix. § 7.

‡ Labbe, Conc. vol. xi. p. 285, c. viii.; Mirœus, Reg. Can. Auctarium, c. xvii. p. 92. And so, ibid. p. 93, in a delightful letter from Wazon, Dean of Liége A.D. 1030, to a presumptuous Præpositus, we have "Canonicam *claustri* vitam . . . Distat inter canonicam et clericam quod Canonico non clerico debetur *claustrum*."

§ A letter of Hettus, Abp. of Treves, to the Bp. of Toul, recommends the bishops everywhere, in pursuance of that missive, to complete the building and furnishing of the *Ministratoria Canonicorum Officina* within three years. Labbe, vol. ix. p. 531.

But the principle of common life and property was never made absolute. The possession of private means was, even under these rules, considered to be as proper to the canonical life * as renunciation was to monasticism. The keeping of cathedral accounts under the two heads of "bishops' table" and "chapter table" (*mensa*), centuries later, when in most places many canons were non-resident, the residents had private establishments, and the only table kept up was that of the vicars and ministers, was a reminiscence of that earlier condition. At no time had the Cœnobitic life (however usefully introduced) any connection with the original and *essential* idea of the institution.†

Neither is the *Daily Service* of such *essence* according to the view of the canonists. Chapters have existed for centuries with no common office except on Sundays and certain festivals. And it is ruled that even these may be intermitted without destroying the capitular character. As a matter of fact some important chapters of France are, owing to "tot alia munia," and also to want of means,

* "Quanquam canonicis liceat . . . dare et accipere, proprias res et ecclesiæ habere, quod monachis penitus inhibitum est. —Canonicos qui suis et ecclesiæ licite utuntur rebus." (Council of Aix-la-Chapelle A.D. 816, lib. i. c. cxv.; ap. Labbe, vol. ix. p. 479; Mirœus, p. 67.)

† The cathedral of Rheims, among its other glories, appears to have maintained the common life later than any church. Cardinal Ximenes at Toledo, and St. Charles Borromeo at Milan made the latest efforts to restore the "apostolic tenor of life." It proved an anachronism however.

unable to give much attendance in choir. And just as Gregory the Great forbids presbyters and deacons to assume too engrossing a part in the public service, so the spirit of our old cathedral statutes is that Canons must often have, and ought to have, more imperative duties.* And says Van Linda, the learned Bishop of Ghent, to his canons, "Let them in no wise think that they stand excused before God, if their sole employment is the recitation of the office."†

Let us here note how beautifully the Regula Canonicorum (A. D. 816) describes the proper character of that service—"Due praises humbly paid, with such sweetness of reading and of melody as shall comfort the learned and educate the ignorant. Their purpose for people's edification rather than empty pleasingness;" but even this Van Espen correctly urges on the vicars, not the canons.‡

Neither is the possession of common Property, or

* *E.g.* "Canonici ecclesiæ nostræ plerumque variis occupationibus præpediti non semper in ipsa ecclesia residentiam facere possunt . . . utilitatibus deservientes ecclesiasticis . . . . Assiduitatem [in choro] exigimus moderatam . . . non ut omnibus horis cogatur interesse, sed ut singulis diebus *uni* horæ canonicæ ad minus *vel* missæ majori illius diei intersit, *nisi* alias *in negotiis ecclesiæ* occupatus sit." (Stat. Linc.) Van Espen exhorts the resident canons to be the more diligent in the choir office, "dum sciunt Confratres suos [Docentes in Universitatibus] *aliis majoribus negotiis pro ecclesia occupari*," p. iii. c. v. § 6.

† Quoted by Van Espen, p. i. c. ii. § 1 (vol. i. p. 59).

‡ Reg. Can. Concil. Aquisgran. lib. i. c. 88. (Labbe, vol. ix. p. 488.) Van Espen, pars iii. c. 2.

receipt of Stipends *essential*, nor the conduct of Divinity schools, or seminaries. All these particulars belong to cathedral chapters, but as the canonists say, only *per accidens*.

What is "*Essential*" is briefly that they be "The Senate of the Diocese," * whose duty is "to aid the bishop when the see is filled, to supply his place when it is vacant."†

The most splendid relic of the institution is still to be seen in fulness of life in the Roman College of Cardinals. They, like their "Papa," only preserved for themselves an ancient name and an ancient activity, which were once to be found in every diocese.‡ And all canons, says Saravia, are *Fratres Episcopi*, as cardinals are *Fratres Papæ*.

In the multitude of foundation deeds of cathedrals there is no variation from this object. Thomassin concludes from his mass of evidence that *everywhere* the "clergy of cathedral churches formed one body with the bishop and entered into their share of the

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* Diocesis Senatus.

† "Auxiliari episcopo, sede plena: supplere, sede vacante."

‡ Thus, Thomassin, p. i. lib. iii. c. vii. § 8, also § 12, "antiquioris et in hac re climatissimæ disciplinæ specimen." In the institution of the chapter at Compostella, as late as 1099, they are styled "cardinals." Earlier the name was quite familiar; as, for instance, Pope Zachary, 741, requests of Pepin that the bishops may be dressed after their rank, and likewise the "presbyteri cardinales." So, Anselm, Archbishop of Milan, "nos cum nostris cardinalibus;" and a bull of Bened. VII., A.D. 975, speaks of the 'cardinal presbyters of Treves.' (Du Cange, s. v.)

anxiety, and into some association with his sacred sway."* Van Espen, with the most contrary church-views to Thomassin's, says "their principal duty was to assist the bishop by their work and their counsels in the government of the church."† So our own Reginald Pole: "The rationale and ground of instituting canonries and prebends in churches was that they who are appointed to them may assist the bishop, and aid him with counsel and work in the discharge of his office, and in divine things."‡ As a single illustration of the practical completeness of their unity, we may just refer to the council of Perpignan (Helenense, A.D. 1065), in which the assembled bishops and counts again and again refer offences against the Truce of God to the investigation and sentence of "The bishop or his canons." The bishop *or canons* have not only power of excommunication, but of inflicting exile also. However, the principle was simply universal. The Cathedral Chapter was the Bishop's Council.§

* "Clerici cathedralium ecclesiarum coalescebant in unum quoddam veluti corpus cum episcopo et in partem solicitudinis atque imperii sacri quandam societatem veniebant."

† "Præcipuum officium est opera et *consilio episcopo* in *regimine* ecclesiæ assistere." (Van Espen, pars I. c. ii. § 1, heading.)

‡ "Cum canonicatus et prebendas in ecclesiis instituendi *ratio* et *causa* hæc fuerit, *ut qui ad eos assumuntur Episcopo assistant*, eumque in muneris sui functione consilio et opera adjuvent, et in divinis." (Reg. Poli de Reformatione, Decr. 3; Labbe, vol. xx. p. 1016.)

§ "Erat Capitulum episcopi cujusque et ecclesiæ cathedralis, clerus ille, illi presbyteri dia-

Hence the great pains taken to ensure competence in such advisers. Chapters were to consist in about equal proportions of theologians and of canonists. Again various councils limited all the dignities and half or a third of the canonries to the higher university degrees in divinity and law.*

Modern Popes, though they have done all that was possible to weaken chapters, have not ventured to interfere with the theory. Pius VII. when he suppressed every cathedral in France in 1801, re-erected chapters because it was needful to "provide for bishops having a council." Pius IX., though he in his turn invaded the Spanish chapters, still treated them as constituting "The senate and council of the bishops."

From these principles, which have been historically observed with almost universal fidelity, it has been ruled to follow that a chapter stripped of its property and withdrawn from liturgies would be a chapter still: but that a chapter deprived of the right of aiding the bishop's work and supplying his place—though exercising every other function—would be excluded from the definition of a chapter. It would be a College of Clerks, but not even the church (say all authorities) could rule that it was a Chapter.

conique qui cum episcopo de rebus quibusque deliberabant, qui una clavum regebant ecclesiæ, qui causas et judicia nomine ejus agitabant, qui una assidebant vel astabant synodis, qui ejus nomine et vice conciliis aderant" (Thomassin, i. iii. vii. 7.)

* Van Espen, pars i. c. iii. iv.

Again it follows that a chapter must have two real completenesses; namely, separately and in conjunction with the bishop; and hence that it has two heads, "yet is no monster," as an old author says; because while without the bishop it is not acephalous but an organic body (*sociale corpus*), it is so in a different relation from that in which it forms the '*mysticum corpus*,' of which the bishop is the head. He is "Principale Caput," while the dean, provost, or other, is "Caput Numerale."*

Thus (I.) it is a Corporation, free to discuss its corporate affairs; charged with the regulation, under certain limitations, statutable and other, of the cathedral service, and with the cure of souls. As such ecclesiastical corporation it is subject to the visitation of the bishop.

It is (II.) a Council, in which capacity it not only has a right to be consulted, but a claim to offer advice—in certain cases may take the initiative.

In its first aspect, the bishop neglects an important part of his diocesan duty if he does not *visit* it.

In its second capacity the bishop, though he cannot be constrained by the advice of his council, nevertheless unconstitutionally neglects his chapter if he does not *consult* it.

* 'De Duplici Capite;' see De Bouix (P. I. § ii. c. 2), whose 'Tractatus de Capitulis' is the most convenient manual for this part of our subject.

(L)

These heads we must follow into detail: and first we will consider the chapter *as a Corporation.*

(1) For the transaction of business it was summoned by the dean, provost, primicerius, or other chief dignitary, who sent notice of the meeting (when not on fixed days); but not necessarily of the business to be transacted. It did not belong to the bishop to summon them individually. They could be cited by the dean or other head of the "sociale corpus," in obedience to a mandate from the bishop addressed to him;* or, as some cathedral statutes somewhat awkwardly but correctly express it, "The chapter must be summoned by the dean and chapter." If the dean declined to issue a summons, it could be legally issued in obedience to the bishop's mandate by the next senior, and so on, and was a valid summons.

(2) It is fundamental, as all canonists agree, that the bishop has no voice *in negotiis capitularibus.* When it meets to discuss its own affairs, the bishop has no right to be present except he is also a prebendary; even then he is bound to retire if the chapter desire to discuss questions touching his episcopal office, or his relations to them. His vicar-

* The dean's power of summoning is so absolute, that he is in some statutes requested not to exercise it unless sure that the cause ought to outweigh the other calls upon the canons.

general is in the same position.* But while the vicar has no rank there except his prebendal seniority, the bishop takes his prebendal place first after the president, whether dean, precentor, or senior, in meetings for capitular business.†

Pius IX., whose confusions of discipline, if less important, were no less glaring than his inventions of doctrine, by a concordat made with the Spanish cathedrals in 1851, provided that the bishop might be present at every chapter meeting and have a casting vote, and in elections have a fifth part of the votes. But no such customs are to be found in earlier times.

(3) The chapter had an absolute right to manage its common property, to hold its own courts, to confer its livings; and, for internal discipline, to visit through the dean (accompanied usually by two canons) all prebendal estates and churches, to inspect their order and management, and cause all needful corrections to be made, appropriating the incumbent's dividend for the purpose. Abroad where the stipends of the canons are now paid by

* Archdeacons and other dignitaries are not members of the chapters of any country except Italy, unless they have "stall in choir and voice in chapter" assigned at their election. In Italy they are always members of the chapter.

† In modern times, the Council of Trent has reserved the prima in capitulo sedes to the bishop in capitular as well as diocesan business. Previously the Archbishop of Rouen, it seems, was singular in holding that place. (Thomassin, i. iii. x. 6.)

government, the right of the chapter is not disputed to keep, by fines, the same hold upon discharge of duty by the members which it formerly possessed through the dividend (distributio) of the common fund.*

(4) The fabric fund is under their administration, subject to the bishop's "correction" in his visits. He could compel them to repair the buildings; but if the fund was insufficient, a larger power became his,† because his revenues were the first liable to be applied; it devolved upon him then to fix the taxation, both of his chapter and of all his parishes, for the reparation of the cathedral. Chapters have in Roman churches frequently maintained against the bishop their independence as to the administration of the fabric fund, but the decision has (according to De Bouix) been usually in favour of the bishop.

(5) The dean had the cure of souls of the whole

* "The existing rule at Milan Cathedral is as follows: The chapter is major and minor, sixteen in one and eight in the other, in their reduced form. They are bound to attend service three times a day, and their stipends are regulated accordingly. A system of '*punti*,' marks, for every service and every part of a service, was laid down by St. C. Borromeo. What any lose by non-attendance is divided among the whole body when the marks are added up, so that they receive back a portion of what they pay." (E.V.) The lay-people of a certain city used to call two of the daily services at which there was no distribution *Horæ Domini*, and the others *Horæ Denarii*. (Van Espen, p. ii. c. iv. § 8, p. 651.)

† Frances, c. xiii.

chapter* and establishment of the cathedral, and they with him of the parish which was frequently attached to the cathedral. For the administration, however, of the cathedral-parish custom abroad added a "perpetual vicar" to the vicars choral—a useful practice, which the Council of Trent converted into law.

(6) All the details of divine service, and the regulation of its officers, fall within the scope of the chapter. But, when the bishop, as "Principal Head," attended, "the other Head" disappeared. The choir-salutations (that seemly usage which our brusqueness, rather than our piety, has given up in some of our cathedrals) which were to be paid to the dean in the bishop's absence, were in his presence made to him only. The absolution and the benedictions (those before the Lessons and Gospels, as well as at the close or opening of the services) could be pronounced only by him. When he expressed his intention of celebrating, the "turns" of all other persons gave way. All other seats were assigned. But he could direct his seat to be fixed where he pleased, and could order seats to be placed for him in various parts of the church. At his installation he was placed in the throne and in his seat at the

* Cathedral statutes often prescribe the manner and form in which the dean is to visit, confess, and communicate a sick canon—requesting him, however, to give place should the canon wish to have another confessor.

altar, and occupied the dean's stall during a portion of the service. He was conducted to the chapter house, and there seated in the first place.

(7) These are only symbols. To pass to more important things: in every act and function the dean and chapter are subject to the visitation of the bishop. Inasmuch as he was bound to take care that they passed nothing illegal, he could require to see the capitular acts and resolutions. Canonists have held that he cannot ordinarily visit more than twice a year. The ordinary custom up till the last century was to commence the triennial visitation of the diocese by the visitation of the cathedral.

He then proceeded to visit their prebendal houses, estates, and churches, and, to avoid complications in this operation, all the jurisdictions of the dean and prebendaries were suspended by a monition from the bishop until the visitation was "dissolved." The vicars who were appointed by each prebendary to the curacy of their prebendal livings had no relation to the chapter at any time, but held immediately under the bishop.*

Whatever abuses or faults were revealed by the visitation were communicated in a written form to the chapter, with an injunction to correct them by a given day. If this was omitted, the bishop took order himself for their correction.

* Cf. Stat. Linc., "Nobis (Episcopo) subsunt immediate."

Very early the usage of visitations of the cathedrals fell almost into abeyance in this country. But after its revival by Grosseteste—who, in his persevering controversy, was "winning back," as he said, "the dropped rights of all the bishops of England"—no serious objections seem ever to have been offered to this episcopal duty. Resumed after the Restoration, they steadily continued until the great lethargy fell on the living things of the church.

(8) The Canon Law was careful to state that the bishop's penalties ought not to go beyond such as were sufficient for correction; but this obligation was only moral. The proper court for prosecuting a canon was constituted of the bishop himself with two canons designated by him. The bishop had one vote and the two canons one: if they were not agreed, a third canon was introduced, and then, if necessary, the whole case was referred to a neighbouring bishop. Appeals could be heard by the archbishop, by the legate, or by the curia. In these respects no formal change has taken place, but by the necessary substitution of other courts of appeal.

The bishop could inflict excommunication upon individual canons if he thought it necessary, or lay an interdict upon the church, or, if he thought it impolitic to do so, could (as Grosseteste actually did) prohibit the offenders whatever their rank, from setting foot in the cathedral. An excommunication of the whole chapter was illegal.

(II.)

We must now secondly consider the chapter as *a Council*, and—

(a) *In co-operation with the Bishop.*

(1) The chapter, or any part of them, "summoned by dean and chapter," in obedience to the bishop's mandate, were bound to assemble, and to consider any subject which he brought before them relating to episcopal dignity, jurisdiction, administration, or regimen. So say *unanimiter canonistæ*. But not touching his personal "commodum," say most of the authorities; although according to others this too may be brought before them if he absents himself from the discussion.

Their opinions were not taken by votes, but given in speeches; and, as the bishop alone had jurisdiction—"monarchia"—he was, of course, not bound to follow their advice.

There were, however, several points on which his action was invalid, unless he had asked their "consilium," and some in which their "consensus" was required. This was recognised as fundamental canon law. Upon the general maxim that the bishop is "positus regere ecclesiam suam," it followed that any limitations of his power which require consent of others must be defined *a jure expresso*. They are summed up under these heads:—

Alienation of property; Presentation to benefices in the patronage of the cathedral church; Union of such benefices, &c.; Loans or mortgages; Questions affecting the interest of the chapter, as, *e.g.*, increase or diminution of the number of canonries; The creation of archdeaconries;* The convening of synods.†

(2) It is only custom which has dispensed with the antient principle that the chapter were to be consulted before collation to *any* benefices. "A prelate ought not to institute, or to deprive, or to transact the other business of the church without having the advice of the chapter,"‡ is the old maxim quoted by De Bouix, who illustrates it by the fact that, in 1159, *all* the institutions made by the Latin Patriarch at Jerusalem were pronounced invalid, on the representation of his chapter that they had not been consulted.

Similarly custom § has abolished the necessity of consulting them in criminal proceedings against, and deprivations of, clerks. But this was once recognised as a most important part of the canonical function.

And generally so intimate were their duties and

* Gavanti, 'Man. Epp.' p. 84, addit. 1.

† 'Instit. Juris Canonici,' l. vi. c. 2; Gavanti, 'Man. Epp.' p. 93.

‡ "Prælatus sine consilio capituli instituere vel destituere vel alia negotia ecclesiæ tractare non debet."

§ Or "*ignorantia canonicorum*," as Fagnani expresses it (ap. Thomassin), with respect to *their own rights*. "*De causis criminalibus cognoscere* Episcopi *haud quaquam possunt nisi cum canonicis suis*," says Thomassin.

rights that they could not be better expressed than by the complaint laid before Innocent III. by the chapter of Angoulême against their bishop, that he "causas difficiles tractaret sine canonicorum assensu."

(3) At *ordinations* they were, properly speaking, the examiners; the archdeacon of the cathedral jurisdiction presented the candidates, and the canons with the bishop laid hands upon them. The examining office was delegated to one member of their body, whose signature is still seen appended to the long lists of candidates ordained in our ancient episcopal registers.

The fact that the bishop's examining chaplains are usually made prebendaries or honorary canons is a relic of this usage.

(4) Before the bishop held a *Synod*, his first step (and it was held fundamental) was to convene the chapter and consult them as to the manner of holding it, as well as to communicate to them the constitutions intended to be promulgated.* The "pars major et sanior" were to be allowed great weight in determining questions, though they could not overrule his judgment.

A Synod† was an assembly of the Clerks of the

* Two months beforehand is the Roman rule.

† May I be permitted upon this subject to refer to the lucid and learned, though brief, exposition of the Bishop of Lincoln ('Diocesan Synods, and Diocesan Conferences,' 1871, Rivington).

diocese, lawfully summoned, under the bishop, for questions concerning their own diocese. Some canonists hold that to the originally frequent meetings of this kind there succeeded by degrees, as numbers increased, the council of the clergy of the city, and finally of the cathedral. It might be more exact to say that the original meetings were those of the clergy of the city, gradually adding to their numbers the clergy of the neighbourhood and those of the diocese, while they themselves answered to and often became the cathedral clergy, or rather the canonical body. The synod was an expanded chapter, and the chapter a condensed synod. Although this is too *symmetrical* a statement to represent more than the merest outline of events as a historical process, still it presents in the clearest form the fact that there was no difference in character, or in subjects of discussion, between the synod and the chapter.

Again, the Synod is a "General Visitation," as St. Charles Borromeo, who held very large synods, expressed it. In it the results and experiences of particular visitations were generalised, and also the acts of *provincial* synods published.

The Council of Trent as well as our own "Reformatio Legum" direct that diocesan synods should be held once a year. Older laws, mostly unobserved, had required them twice. To the convening of them no superior consent was required to be ob-

tained by the bishop; and all regulations with respect to them have for their aim to make them as inclusive as possible, both of persons* and subjects. Lambertini (Benedict XIV.) points out† that the ancient records of synods are mostly silent as to the summoning of Canons, and that some have held that they "may be *invitati*, not *exacti* as Parochi" and others were, to attend, unless questions which concern them are discussed. Still, as almost every ecclesiastical question must be held to concern them, the difficulty has been only theoretical, and they have assigned to them, in their choir order, the third place in synods, *i.e.*, next after the bishop and his vicar-general.

The laity might be invited to attend, but not to speak. Their "consilium," if required by the bishop, was taken elsewhere.

The "Synod" being so well defined an assembly, it is to be regretted that the name has been recently applied to some important assemblies of laity and clergy, in which there are motions and divisions, in which all speak and vote alike, and which are more properly to be denominated *conferences*. In some churches such assemblies are the "governing bodies."

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* *E.g.* By a Sacred Congregation in 1629 it is defined that unbeneficed clergy are bound to be present, if they receive notice that questions will be brought forward touching "reformatio morum," or "totus clerus."

† 'Ap. Institutiones Juris Can.' ix. 2.

And legitimately. But the "Synod" can never cease to have its proper existence, as a meeting of the bishop with his own clergy, to which the place, the ministering dress, surplice and stole, worn throughout the deliberations, the reception of the Eucharist, &c., give almost the character of an act of worship.

Addresses were given, and opinions delivered and argued in the synod, but its assent was not necessary to the validity of episcopal constitutions then issued and published. These are subscribed by the bishop alone. It was a deliberative assembly, having weight and effect, but not a legislative one. Its spiritual character is well expressed in words from an old Bishop of Verona, which refresh the drouth of the 'Institutiones.' "The day of the synod always is to me the pleasantest of days; the day which, amid the most pressing troubles—inseparable from the cares of such office—most comforts and restores my spirit."*

(b) *The Independent Powers of the Chapter as a Council.*

(1) The chapters met when they pleased, and of their own motion; the rest of the clergy could only meet by licence of the bishop.

* "Mihi certe nullus dies die synodi solet esse jucundior qui in maximis molestiis, quas tanti muneris cura affert, animum meum magis consoletur et recreet."

(2) They had the power of initiation, in case of a bishop's vicious living, misbelief, maladministration, or contempt of their own rights. Their first step was to send a remonstrance * (*monitio*) as sons to a father, and if it were unavailing they appealed.

(3) Cases necessarily arose when the dean and next senior were unwilling to summon the chapter, though the majority desired it. In these cases, if the majority amounted to two-thirds, they simply met, the chapter being said "*scipsum convocare*;" the senior present presided, and this was a valid chapter.

(4) Immediately upon the decease of a bishop all the administrative and legislative power devolved upon the chapter. They visited, they convened synods, they held the episcopal courts, issued ecclesiastical censures, instituted to benefices, appointed to canonries which would have been in his gift, &c. Episcopal acts proper they could not do—*e.g.*, grant dimissory letters. During the vacancies of many years which our English kings left in the richer sees, receiving the revenues themselves meantime, these powers were excessively important, and the resignation of them after such vacancies produced complications. They had to appoint as their representative a "capitular vicar" or "official."

* It appears that this right of monition has been disputed on the ground that "If a beast touch the mountain it shall be stoned."

And here it should, perhaps, be mentioned that the acts of a chapter have no validity except their meetings are held in the chapter-house. As an interesting illustration of this general rule, we may quote the election of St. Hugh to the bishopric of Lincoln. It took place in London and he himself refused to acknowledge it, until it had been freely and freshly made in the chapter-house of the diocese. "Not," says he, "in a royal palace, or in a pontifical council, but in its own chapter-house must a church bishop be elected. There, with prayers and the help of the Holy Ghost, they may elect."* Moreover, the bishop had no right to require their presence elsewhere. When he summoned them he was bound to meet them in the chapter-house. The sole customary exception was that they usually assembled in the bishop's house to hear and consider the subjects which it was proposed to lay before a synod.

(c) *The "Simultaneous Power" of the Bishop and Chapter.*

There were certain matters in which what was called the "*Vis Simultanea*" *of the Bishop and Chapter* had to be exercised.

(1) If a commission were issued to the cathedral church, their reply was given by two votes, of which the bishop had one, the dean and chapter another.

* 'Mag. Vita S. Hugonis,' c. ii.

(2) In making statutes for the cathedral it was essential that the bishop and chapter should concur. The excellent replies of the dean and chapter of Exeter to the commission of 1852, contain, in describing the practice of their own cathedral, so precise an account of the common law on the subject that it may be fitly recalled here:—"The statutes which govern the church of Exeter were enacted from time to time *pro re nata*. They were framed in the form of injunctions from the bishop, as visitor, requiring the more accurate observance of existing ordinances, or of new statutes, either suggested by the chapter to the visitor or framed by him at their request and with their concurrence, and finally accepted by the body. No instrument has ever been allowed to be of any force unless ratified by the bishop and chapter, and authenticated by the seals of both."

(3) In filling up the prebends, the bishop had the nomination, but the chapter had the right of installation. In many of the old cathedrals the prebends were of the bishops' own foundation—farms and churches which they alienated from themselves for this express purpose. But, theoretically, they were supposed to be founded out of common estates of the church; and not to carry with them any episcopal or any capitular claims. The conferring of canonries is not an essentially episcopal act, upon the general maxim, "Conferre beneficia

non est ordinis sed jurisdictionis," and the exercise of the "simultaneous power" has varied in every conceivable way. Sometimes bishop and chapter alternately appointed, sometimes jointly; sometimes by weeks or by months; sometimes the whole chapter alone; sometimes the two sides of the choir alternately; in France universally the bishop alone nominates at present. And while this is perhaps the arrangement which gives most hope of initiating a working council, it is nevertheless a neglect of the *jus simultaneum*, which would probably be injurious if chapters were once more active and important committees.

(4) This right applied to the appointment of honorary canons as strictly as to that of others. The neglect of it by bishops led to serious causes which were invariably decided in favour of chapters. Neither the bishop alone nor the chapter alone could upon any ground increase the number of canons. In France, however, the "*coutume*" of the bishop appointing honorary canons alone is held to have grown into a right. Some bad reasons and many good ones gave rise to the creation of supernumerary or honorary canons. Favour, the reward of service, the decoration of distinguished churchmen, the need of assistance in the capitular work, the desire to beautify the liturgy in small establishments, the piety of persons wishing to be associated in the worship of some church, the advantage of

systematic training for the higher ecclesiastical functions, are among the numerous causes specified in biographies and elsewhere as leading to the appointment of canons, either expressly without prebends, or with succession to a vacancy; and the latter, both in cases where prebendaries received their own rents, and where, although they bore the names of prebends, they received dividends only.* If, as in many of the great antient churches, the number of canons was fixed (*ecclesiæ numeratæ*) then not only honorary canons, but any of more recent foundation, were called *super-numerary*, which it is well to remember, as the term might otherwise seem to imply some irregularity of tenure or position. Canons waiting for vacancies are irreverently called "*Canons at Grass*" (*in herbis*) in distinction from "*Canons in Stall.*" However, evidently possible abuses led to the abolition of such expectancies by the Council of Trent.

The number of canons varied in some churches (irrespectively of honorary canons) owing to an arrangement for increase or diminution in proportion to the state of the revenues.

Honorary canons *proper* (an institution revived among ourselves with sound knowledge of antiquity)

* An instance in this country is St. Asaph, where, besides six prebendaries, there were "seven canons, each of which has a distinctive name, but there is no separate estate, I believe, to more than two of them." 'Cath. Comm.' App. to 1st Report, p. 425.

are of very antient and very general institution. They had canonical insignia, stall, and order, but no voice in the chapter, at least in matters of property, or in elections.* But if they served in the church they had allowances and were at the direction of the chapter.

Although Sovereigns were (Charlemagne in several churches) frequently Canons of their chief chapters with or without prebends, it was probably in their sacred character.

When about the time of Urban II. the subdiaconate began to be accounted as a sacred order, a small number of sub-deacons were attached as prebendaries to some cathedrals; but originally canons could only be presbyters and deacons, and the Council of Trent ordered that at least half should be presbyters. The Roman chapter of the cardinals stands alone in this respect, that though its cardinal-deaconries, and sub-deaconries are frequently held by bishops, yet they are tenable by "prælati" who have been only admitted to the inferior orders.

Hence, if we read of laymen, founders' kinsmen, jurists, courtiers, or conquerors like the Duke of Bedford at Rouen, holding cathedral stalls in the middle ages, or of hereditary canons, as the Kings of France (Counts of Anjou) and Dukes of Burgundy

* In the Church of Rome the mere name of Canon was conferred (and may still be) without even a stall.

in the church of St. Martin of Tours and elsewhere, or the Dukes of Berry in St. John at Lyons, or the Counts of Chastelus at Auxerre,*—it must be understood that it was, even then, either a peculiarity of the particular cathedral, or else an abuse. They were not merely 'honorary canons;' as they occupied the stall, and held the revenues of the prebend assigned to them; but it may be doubtful whether the chapter always installed them like the Sire de Beauvois, with a surplice over their armour, the amice on the left arm, and a hawk on fist.†

(5) It is a question which canonists have put, but never resolved, whether, supposing the chapter to refuse to install as dean some person collated by the bishop to the prebend attached to the deanery, he would have power to summon the chapter.

V.—BENEFICIAL USES IN CHURCH POLITY—THEIR VACATED PLACE.

In this brief, yet I hope sufficiently accurate outline of the mutual relations of the bishop and

* Charles V. was a Canon of Bologna. The Emperors Henry VII. (1311) and Frederic III. (1452) Canons of St. Peter's. Of the last it is recorded that he "non injucunde cantavit" his portion of the service. Our Henry II. was a Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.

† Cherusel, 'Dict. des Inst.' vol. i. p. 132. The Treasurers of Auxerre and Nivernois carried a hawk in choir on certain feasts in token of their nobility (see Du Cange, "Accipiter"). The Council of Trent contemplates the possibility of lay canons, but denies them "voices in chapter," *etiamsi hoc sibi ab aliis sit concessum.*

chapter, we have seen worked out, both in the original conception and by the operation of historical sequences, the appliance of episcopal government to the changeful needs of the churches of progressive nations.

Those relations are part of the universally diffused system of canon law which, wherever it is "not contrariant" to the statutes of the realm, is in force still. That law is full of evidence against the papal system, which increasingly violates it. On the other hand the study of it would be corrective of much non-conformity, whose present prevalence and inherent weakness are largely due to its own and our ignorance of the accumulated experience, sense, and policy, which are condensed in that law. It was a measure of present convenience, but of short-sighted expediency which, under Henry VIII., suspended University degrees in Canon Law. The codification and rectification of it were admirably enterprised by Cranmer in the Reformatio Legum. If the cathedral system had been continuously worked, one of its benefits would have been the perpetuation of a deeper study of it. The statutes of all particular cathedrals are local adaptations of such portions of the law as bear upon their efficiency. Hence their universal resemblances and special differences. Such statute books are commonly practical manuals of that portion of the law. Where these had received due sanction, the chapters never ceased, as King Edward VI.'s

Injunctions* state, to be bound to "observe all such statutes as are not contrary, repugnant, or derogatory" to the Royal Injunctions; or, as the Reformatio Legum expresses it (A.D. 1552–1571), "The statutes of founders as heretofore received shall be retained unaltered and in their integrity, so long as they do not contradict the word of God and are not repugnant to our constitutions put forth concerning religion or hereafter to be put forth."† But even if no statutes existed, the cathedral was not "without law." It was minutely governed by canon law, and simply had nothing special to plead for any particular usages it might have admitted.

It would be vain to attempt in short space to estimate the various and complex effects of relations so powerful and on so vast a scale as came into existence when the episcopal organization had universally in every country, in every city, surrounded itself with the capitular system as its most intellectual and socially valuable instrument. But

* A.D. 1547. A copy of those which were sent to Lincoln Cathedral (with some curious Marian (?) notes) exists in MS. cviii. of Archbishop Parker's MSS. in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge.

† "Fundatorum Statuta jam abhinc antea recepta retinebuntur, pura et integra, quamdiu verbo Dei non adversantur, et nostris constitutionibus, &c., non repugnant." 'Reform. Legg. de Eccles.' c. 7. Even the 'Church Commissioners' (2nd Rep. p. 11) recognise that mere practice had not reduced Residence from nine months to three, but that *legal* change of statutes would be required. (Bp. Wordsworth's 'Twelve Addresses,' p. 26.)

these beneficial uses seem at any rate to fall into three great groups.

(1) The capitular system aimed at realising *a continuous yet flexible tradition* in the conduct of that "monarchic" office which, in the absence of fixed principles, must, when great questions arise, be either very variable or very passive; but which is still more likely to energise over infinite detail. Originality in government, as in thought, requires perfection of science and of resources up to the very *point de départ*. A tradition snapped at every voidance of the see could no more (it was held) be strong and prompt of action, than we should expect cabinet ministries to work well, were not every minister fortified at his succession by the irremovable officials of his department. Policy may with safety be changed, but if a whole administration changes too, the tendency both to formality and to audacity (especially in church affairs) is patent.

(2) A council not only serves to the perpetuation of principle, it is also the *security of the individual*. Isolation is the vice and weakness of authority. "Episcopal authority," in its present aspect, "seems too much to resemble an inverted pyramid trembling on its apex. In an antient diocesan synod" (and may we not say with equal truth, *surrounded habitually by its chapter?*) "it reposed quietly on its base."* If numbers, if dignity, gravity, experience,

* Bishop Wordsworth, Address on Diocesan Synods, 1871.

are the strength of any social cause, how could they be more effectively arrayed in the church's cause than in conciliar union? "There are two things," wrote Lord Bacon, "in the administration of bishops wherein I could never be satisfied; the one is, the sole exercise of their authority; the other, the deputation of their authority . . . One may suppose, on good grounds, that" from the beginning it was not thus, "that the deans and chapters were councils about the sees and chairs of bishops . . It is a matter that will give strength to the bishops, countenance to the inferior degrees of prelates or ministers, and the better issue or proceeding to the causes that shall pass."* We, in the Reformed Church, once had all the substance of "counsel;" we have still a central force supported by law. We paralyse the latter by isolation; the former we have attenuated to a skeleton.

(3) To give value to the support of a council, the *independence* of the councillors must be secured to the utmost limits of safety. And this the cathedral system sought to provide, giving to the members of that council everything which in a settled country confers independence. It gave real estate, to be held in common; freeholds, to be held by the members; a conspicuous rank, a glorious home, spiritual responsibilities, and the inspiration of common and

* Bacon, "Peace of Church," sect. ii. (quoted in 'Cath. Comm.' Rep. i. p. lvii.

beautiful worship. Upon his own estate it held each prebendary responsible for the education of the young, for the appointment of the pastor, for the condition of the labourer.

"What more could have been done for My vineyard?"

Progressiveness, Security, Independence. These three characters at least were designed, and to some extent, and for some time, were assured to the internal self-government of the church by the operation of the capitular system. Personal and political selfishnesses have invalidated and nearly extinguished it. Nor is any other cause assignable. But the stifling is not irremediable.

VI.—THE CAUSES OF DEGRADATION.

With the deterioration of all this nobleness—which has from time to time shown by flashes what it might effect, and which has been instrumental under all adverse influences, in nurturing a remarkable proportion of our most pious, learned and laborious men—there is in England one depravation of public opinion beyond all other causes chargeable; the placing such large numbers (while they were numerous) of these appointments at the disposal of the successful politician; the filling vacancies in these ecclesiastical councils with family connections and party adherents. "In the case of this church,"

writes Dean Law of Gloucester, "there is scarcely an instance of a Lord Chancellor making an appointment except in favour of some relative or personal friend, or at the request of some influential personage."*

Again, when some unscrupulous minister had placed his solemn adventurer or fascinating financier in a see, he in turn had stalls and prebends for relatives near and distant. One cathedral exhausted, dexterous translation might yield them another. But the church will never again drink of that cup! And that wells have been poisoned is not to the discredit of wells.

That the capitular posts should not be all in the hands of ecclesiastics, that the government should, in the church of a nation, exercise a right of nominating to a proportion of them, distinctly tends to lessen church feuds and create larger interests; and the most Roman Catholic countries have surpassed England in assigning such rights to the government.† For instance, in Spain, the king appointed to

* Return to the House of Lords, printed 22nd May, 1871.

† Cathedral appointments in (28) cathedrals:—

Cathedral appointments in patronage of Crown (28 D. 39 C.), and Lord Chancellor (12 C).	79
Cathedral appointments in patronage of (28) bishops	90
Cathedral appointments in patronage of university .	5
	174

Of residentiary canonries, 81; of other canonries and prebends, 332 have been suspended.

all deaneries and, alternately with the bishops, to all canonries except two (filled up by the pope) in each of the metropolitan churches and in twenty-two cathedrals.

To govern alone, or with the advice of private and irresponsible friends, or not to govern at all—to reside elsewhere—to connive at the chapter residing elsewhere,—to withdraw from the obligation of consulting them, and to waive the right of visiting them —this was the natural course of episcopal comfort. Capitular worldly-wisdom was to convert dignity into ease, neglect into privilege, omission into precedent, to render any qualification superfluous, any special gifts or habits needless, and so, by a vicious circle indeed, justify the method of appointment.

For about a hundred and fifty years such conditions were not usually thought unsatisfactory. But since our church entered once more upon a period "in which the hearts of her children turned toward their fathers," neither chapters nor prelates are content to be isolated.

It will be serviceable however to show historically that the *breaking up of the cathedral system* really took this form of the *drawing apart of the chapter and the bishop;* that the severance is due utterly to modern usage and is against the constitution of the churches; and that for the reparation and invigoration of the system nothing more is wanting than to take up the thread, to use powers and faculties which

exist as really as ever. Upon a historical basis alone could effective relations be resumed. We shall see that, as in all history, decay is traceable even in the most vigorous age; that some high principles are perhaps extremely active even amid fatal decline; and that again the regeneration of societies may sometimes have begun before the worst habits seem to be shaken.

It would prove little to draw such illustrations from a mere cento of events in various places. To be distinct we must again make what use we can of the real history of a single church, and hence our illustrations to be true must also be fragmentary.

Reverting first to the dispute between Grosseteste and his chapter, we found that the chapter pleaded the long interval since his 'negligent and pigritant' predecessors had visited them as a reason why they should be henceforth left to themselves. "Non-visitation had become a *consuetudo* of their church." The bishop showed that an *omissio* or *negatio* could never become a *consuetudo*. They pleaded they had a *libertas*. He replied that inasmuch as it was not competent for any bishop to have renounced the duties of his successors, and no exemption granted by the Roman see could be produced—(such as exempted Cistercian abbeys from the episcopal jurisdiction to which Benedictine and Augustinian were subject)*—theirs

* Some foreign cathedrals *procured* similar or partial "exemptions," although this correspondence does not allude to the fact—an absurdity which various councils laboured to mitigate.

was but a "*phantasy of a liberty.*" They then produced a transparent forgery, still extant, declaring Lincoln to have been a royal peculiar, with an ultimate appeal to the king. They took nothing by this. Their next argument was that the dean was their "visitor." Grosseteste replied that the frequentative word *visitation* implies acts intermittent, resumed, and repeated—that the supervision of the resident dean was continuous—he was their *visor*, if they pleased. They hoped to show that the bishop's jurisdiction over canons was confined to cases of appeal and of decanal neglect in the correction of offending canons. His demonstration of the impossibility of working such a system is very illustrative of their mutual relations. *E.g.* (1) It would follow that if any canon should offend against the bishop, he could not be cited into the episcopal court, but must be prosecuted by the bishop before an inferior judge. (2) That for offences committed by a canon in parishes not within the chapter's jurisdiction he could not be punished at all. (3) The rights of the cathedral had often to be maintained by the bishop against magnates with whom no dean could cope. (4) Canons might be guilty of offences requiring penalties which existed only in the episcopal armoury, deprivation, degradation, &c. (5) Charges might be brought against them which could be heard legally only in episcopal courts; and supposing the *whole* chapter, *so called*, including the dean and

excluding the bishop, should offend against the bishop's rights, or have a cause against any one in his jurisdiction, then the bishop could neither punish nor judge; all which is absurd. Under the last head he protests against the practice of speaking of the chapter as complete without the bishop.*

We have seen that Grosseteste's view was, in accordance with all history and sense, victorious completely. And we will, therefore, next observe the relation of the bishop to his chapter as it appears in the statutes of Lincoln near two hundred years later.†

"The bishop is not only a *dignitas* in his church, he is *culmen dignitatum*. Fifty-six canons constitute, *together with their head*, the body and chapter of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln. . . . The head of the mystic body is the bishop. The chapter elect the dean. . . . The bishop is bound to compel and constrain the dean *ad hoc vel aliud*. . . . The bells peal when the bishop attends church . . . he gives all benedictions and receives all salutations (the dean in his absence only). . . . He supersedes any dignitary when he wishes to celebrate. . . . Upon the obit-day of any bishop the tombs of all bishops buried in the cathedral are lit with tapers.

* Grosseteste, Ep. 73. "Si non consumerato episcopo . . . . dicantur capitulum, et *sic* nominato capitulo accidat," &c.

† Bp. Grosseteste died A.D. 1253. Bp. Alnwick's 'Novum Registrum' belongs to 1440.

"He visits the church, the dean, canons, and all persons connected with the establishment, the prebendal churches and congregations, *quoties et quando voluerit* . . . The perpetual vicars of the prebendal churches are immediately subject to the bishop. . . . If lawfully hindered he may depute a commissary, but such commissary must first be sworn a canon of the church, not necessarily a prebendary.

"No one may act on such commission who is not a dignity of Lincoln, beyond an unmarried notary and clerk.

"Bishop Fleming had allowed two canons to be deputed to represent the chapter in the correction of such abuses as the bishop required the chapter to correct. This delegation of power is withdrawn. The chapter itself is to correct abuses.

"The laudum which had been given by Bishop William Gray is declared null and void, on the ground that the bishop had issued it upon his sole episcopal authority without summoning the absent parties, and without any previous *compromissio* on the part of the dean and chapter."

So far then no breakage of relations had happened. They are as intimate as they could well be. The next marked phase of chapter life is on the eve of the Reformation, A.D. 1520–1540. The bishop and chapter are parting company.

The bishop now resided chiefly in London, and upon his principal manors. Though he visited the

cathedral, and the prebends attached to it, yet his ordinations were apparently held altogether by his bishops suffragan, of whom he had three. Bishop Alnwick had attributed the chief part of the disorders which he found to the non-residence of the deans, and now we find that the canons are to such an extent ceasing to reside that many houses in the close are falling to ruin.* They have not however deserted the cathedral for their parochial cures; in these also Bishop Longland finds the greatest 'misliving,' and he hints that the prebendal visitations of the dean and chapter have been either intermitted or ineffectual.

Their conciliar *work* has entirely ceased. Not only the religious excitements and the excessive worldliness of the age, but even right energy has in so stirring a time withdrawn men from a *life* which has become solely liturgical.

In 1547, King Edward VI. issues 23 injunctions to the cathedral, interesting both socially and liturgically, but bearing on our present purpose simply as requiring the strict observance of all the "statutes that be not contrary, repugnant, or derogatory to these Injunctions."†

The 'Reformatio Legum' (1552–1571) exhibits a

* See a letter of Bp. Longland's printed in Dean Howson's 'Essays on Cathedrals,' p. 237. (Murray, 1872.)

† MS. Injunctions, 12. Abp. Parker's MSS. in C. C. C. Library at Cambridge, No. cviii. p. 255.

thoroughly puzzled attempt to say *what* prebendaries are now to do, "who have no fixed functions assigned to them;"* points out the duty of *doing something*; '*ecclesias docendo, concionando, solando*' the sick and poor, or in whatever legitimate and right ways bishop and dean may prescribe." It almost eagerly allows them† five years' leave of absence to study in the Universities, requiring them meanwhile to write an annual account of their own progress to the bishop and the chapter.‡ The residents are to attend all the sermons and three times a week Theological Lectures.

Thus completely had severance from the bishop's work paralysed the energies of the cathedral in all respects but one. The bishop's authority was however at present intact.

Before another century has passed the cathedral has seen a change indeed. It had suffered in revenue§ from the suppression of the monasteries. It had suffered from the shameless appropriation by

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* "Qui certa sibi non habent dispertita munera."

† The Quinquennium absentiæ was not a new invention however, but had been previously allowed to canons under thirty years of age. (Gavanti 'Manuale Episcoporum,' p. 85, § 15.)

‡ "Rationem vitæ et morum et progressionis in doctrina." (Ref. Legg. De admittendis, &c., c. 16, 17.)

§ In the same MS. of Abp. Parker's No. 108, p. 223 is a List of "Pencions and other dutyes due unto the Deane and chapiter of the cathedrall churche of Lincoln whiche hathe not been payde and ar denyed since the dissolution of the abbeys and chantries."

Protector Somerset of its six chief prebends to favourites' families, and the suppression of the six stalls. It had suffered from kingly brigandage the loss of all its historic treasure. But it had suffered more fatally under the Book of Canons of 1603. The 44th canon required "all residentiaries in any cathedral church . . after the days of their residency expired . . presently to *repair to their benefices*, or *some one of them* . . or some other charge." This was the last blow to corporate usefulness or service.

Nevertheless, the Offices or posts of duty were untouched. The bishop's authority was untouched. And even the conciliar forms were to survive awhile.

Let us take some illustrative circumstances.

We may quote the enthronements of Bishop Neale in 1613, and Bishop Montaigne in 1617.*

"The dean and chapter assigned and showed him (Bishop Neale's proxy) the bishop's stall in the quire *and his place in the chapter-house.*"

"The dean and chapter showing the said proxy (of Bishop Montaigne) the episcopal stall in the quire, *and the chief place in the chapter-house.*"

These installations by proxy point to the fact that the bishops were non-resident. "The bishop

* The memoranda of Bishops Neale, Montaigne, Barlow, Tenison, Wake, are taken from their unpublished registers.

must have a little hostel not far from the church,"* ruled the 4th Council of Carthage, in the presence of Augustine; and at their foundation the cathedrals had the palace invariably contiguous, but as Frances says, quite seriously, "At the present day it is of no consequence whether the bishop lives far or near."†

The bishop's house at Lincoln had been laid in ruins by the Parliamentarians; but a century was still to pass before all interest of bishops in their cathedral ceased. The "Order of Preachers" by which the prebendaries are still called up under fine is an ordinance made by Bishop Sanderson.

Bishop William Barlow (1675–1691) whom Clarendon admired without measure as a student of Church history and civil and canon law, was "never in all his life at Lincoln;"‡ he was sarcastically styled, from his house in Huntingdonshire, "Episcopus Buckdeniensis."§

Of his visitation by his vicar-general in 1690 (when he was eighty years old) I am not aware that the articles have been hitherto printed. The commission runs "pro visitatione ecclesiæ cathedralis tam in capite quam in membris realiter et effectualiter," and has twenty-two articles "for the cathedral

* "Episcopus non longe ab Ecclesia hospitiolum habeat." (Canon xv.)

† "Hodie non refert an longe vel prope habitet Episcopus." ('De Ecclesiis Cathedralibus,' c. 29, a. 17.)

‡ Willis's 'Cathedrals,' vol. ii. p. 71.

§ Godwin, 'Præsules Angliæ' (1743), p. 305.

church of Lincoln to be inquired of in the triennial visitation."

I quote the more immediately interesting ones:

"Imprimis, whether doth every member of this church at his first admission swear to *observe such statutes as have been hitherto used as statutes and not contrary to the laws of this realm of England.*" He proceeds to inquire as to the benefices which are held with canonries, &c., the observance of rules of residence, and whether the number of ministers is complete, and the "choir sufficiently furnished with skilfull organist and able singers, and dayly service there sung *according to the foundation of this church;*" whether "the sacraments (both) be administered *in due time* . . . and by *singing and note according to the statutes of this church?*"* As to the dress of the ministers. Whether the full number of sermons is preached yearly appointed by the *statutes* and *ordinaries* of the church; and whether there *are week-day lectures.* He requires further, statistics respecting canons, petite canons, officers, and their incomes and stipends, and the education of the choristers. Then come inquiries as to the "Masters of the Fabrick," their accounts and audit, and the revenue of the fabrick; as to the state of repair of the cathedral and its appendages and houses, "whether good

* The reference is to the very full directions on the mode and style of singing, contained in the 'Novum Registrum.'

and sufficient *as required by the statute?* and as to the decency of the churchyard: whether, *contrary to the statutes*, there are any usurers, recusants, Papists, disreputable or suspicious people in the precincts?

"Whether the capitular meetings are duly and orderly kept as *by statute* is required? and the muniments and evidences safely kept, and in such manner as is required by the *statutes?*

"Encroachments on the close, and thoroughfare through it or through the cathedral; walking about of visitors in service time, and begging in the church," do not escape. And it is asked "whether any postern doors of private persons open into the close."

We have also inquiries as to the efficiency of the cathedral school, and *is not* the same school neglected or abused in any kind?"

Lastly, "by virtue of their oath of obedience," the bishop requires the presentment to him of any offence "contrary to the *statutes* and *laudable customs* of the said church."

Bishop Barlow's view—which certainly was likely to be no innovating one—of the obligation and operativeness of the statutes, as they are, is distinct enough.

In 1693 the bishop appears in the chapter-house as the legislative authority for the chapter—"Die Sabbati 10 Jun. 1693 *inter horas 7am et 8vam ante*

meridiem in Domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ Cathedralis B.M.V. Lincolnensis *coram* Rev^do^. in Xto Patre et Dno Dno Thoma [Tenison] . . . . Quo die Dnus Epus antedictus super informatione" that divers prebendaries, to the great prejudice and detriment of the church and their successors, have not entered (*non intraverint*) their leases, *decrevit* that the said prebendaries *movendos fore** to register them, and *decrevit* the amount of the fees.

In 1706 Bishop Wake held his primary visitation, beginning with the cathedral on the 20th of May in the chapter-house. Upon that occasion various orders were made, the execution of which was inquired into upon his second visitation in 1709. An interesting violation of the antient rights of the chapter then occurred which was subsequently acknowledged and rectified. The bishop, being unable to visit in person, issued a commission to his vicar-general, Dr. Newell, and to the dean, sub-dean, precentor, and chancellor, to sit in the chapter-house, convoke all such prebendaries, &c., inquire, punish, and correct.

But the commission was withdrawn from Dr. Newell, as not being "*de gremio, sive membrum ejusdem Ecclesiæ*," according to the "special privilege, confirmed both by statutes and old and approved custom," that the bishop should not visit

* The unusually bad Latin is due apparently to Mr. Walker, a notary.

the chapter by any commissary not of its own body. This is the reason assigned for the concession by Bishop Wake, and it is based upon the statutes. But it was an error to suppose it a *special privilege* of this cathedral.* The quotations from the canonists Leurenius and Pignatelli show that it was the rule in all cathedrals that the vicar-general could in no way intervene *etiam absente episcopo*, or be admitted to a meeting of the chapter, unless there were some special right or custom, if he were not *de gremio*. The copy of the commission in the register book has the name and style of the vicar-general dotted underneath as an incorrectness, and the note of his withdrawal appears in the visitation of 1712.

I do not know whether it was on account of this mistake that, although the bishop had intended to perform his cathedral visitation by commissioners on the 30th of May, 1709, he issued on 6th May a new commission, requiring them simply to meet on the 30th in the chapter-house, to call the prebendaries and all the officers and ministers, and adjourn the visitation till the 16th of June, "at which time I purpose to be there myself in person."

The law, thus recognised as governing the cathedral and the bishop in his relation to it, is the statute of William Alnwick, and the case is the

* De Boaix, § iv. c. vi.

same down to the smallest detail—as for instance when "the dignities, archdeacons, præbendaries, vicars-choral, clerks, choristers, officers, and ministers of the said cathedral church are ordered to be summoned by affixing of their citations upon each stall *prout in hac parte usitatum fuerit*," &c.*

Further the observance of the canons of 1604 is inquired into as law.

The articles of 1709 are twenty-seven in number. They are fuller, better worded, and much more methodically arranged than those of Bishop Barlow, but of course verbally correspond with them in some instances.

It is inquired "whether the statute concerning the [sermons] has been put in due execution according to the order made the last visitation with relation to that matter?" It seems to be assumed that the sacraments and choral service now proceed in due order and with due attire; but there is a new question as to whether the rubrick is obeyed in the observance of feasts, vigils, fasts, days of abstinence, and other solemn days, and as to the sufficiency of books and ornaments. The education and "catechising" of the choristers is more particularly asked about. Recusants and Papists are not inquired for. The better regulation of property is seen coming under consideration; it is asked whether the order

* Monition of Bishop Wake; MS. Register, p. 108.

made in the last visitation has been obeyed, as to the registering of their leases by the prebendaries, and the sending in of their Terrars; as well as one made with regard to the registration of wills by prebendaries, &c., who exercise jurisdiction and have "liberty to prove" testaments. Another article requires the members to visit their peculiars, and see that the chancels and houses belonging to the same are duly repaired.

To these twenty-seven articles we have the answers of the dean and chapter made with much fulness and particularity.* Our limits will not allow us to quote more than one or two. They give a full account of the personnel of the cathedral, and declare that none of the places had been simoniacally filled; that (3rd Art.)—"Neither the dean nor any of the residentiarys have any preferment in your lordship's diocese beside their dignitys. They do each of them keep their residences [9 months] in their respective houses here;"—that (4th Art.)—"We who are residentiarys do generally preach not only our own courses enjoyn'd by the statutes of our church, but likewise upon all solemn occasions, &c., and that some others of the prebendarys do usually preach their own courses, or provide and pay for the supply of them, but others of them neither preach their courses themselves nor give notice to

* Bishop Wake's Register, fo. 119.

any of the church to provide for the supply thereof, nor take any care for the payment of those who preach for them; and in such cases their courses are usually supplied by the residentiarys, senior vicars, or some other neighbouring clergy. We desire to execute the late order, but find great difficulty how to go about it. However, *we think the church doth not suffer by this, though we ourselves sometimes do.*"

They continue, that their meetings are orderly kept, and the muniments preserved, "such as were not imbezell'd in the great rebellion;" but that some few only of the prebendaries have given in their leases (but no terrars) for registration; while, of those exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the subdean, the prebendaries of Empingham, Heydour, and five others bring in the original wills, but all the others neglect the late order. Postern doors there have been "time out of mind." "Some idle and disaffected persons sometimes walk in the isles" during divine service, but not unreproved. The dean and chapter do visit the peculiars belonging to the common estate of the church. The prebendaries must answer for themselves. To the rest of the questions they return satisfactory answers.

In 1712 the bishop issues a new commission for the visitation of the cathedral church; the prebendaries to be called on the 24th of May, and the meeting then adjourned to the 7th of July, "at which time . . .

I purpose to be there myself in person. . . ." Notice to be given to any absentees on the 24th of May "that *I shall not excuse their absence at that time*, except upon some just and canonical impediment then to be alleged and proved on their behalf, unless they shall before that time have signified to you their assent to, and *done what in them lies to fulfil and execute, the orders made at our last visitation*, and shall also give sufficient power to some other member of our said cathedrall church to consent and agree for them, and in their names, not *only to the orders already made, but moreover to such further rules and constitutions as shall then by common consent be agreed upon.*"*

They accordingly assembled, and, after 'divers prorogations,' we have the result of the meetings embodied in "Statutes and Orders made by the Right Reverend Father in God, William, by Divine permission, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in his visitation begun in the chapter-house of the cathedrall church, &c., with the unanimous consent and approbation of the dean, dignitaries, and prebendaries."†

This, too, is in form precisely *according to the Canon Law.*

The statutes and orders then made are for the registration of leases, the collection of terrars, the visitation of the peculiars by the dean, dignitaries,

* Bishop Wake's MS. Register, p. 172. † Ibid. fo. 181.

and prebendaries, "in order to their being the better acquainted with the state of the churches under their jurisdiction," and the registration of wills.

In 1715 the cathedral was again visited by Bishop Wake,* by Bishop Gibson† in 1718, by Bishop Reynolds in 1724 for the last time.

To the end of the first quarter of last century we find the cathedral at least a living body, recognising the possibility of statutable changes in its constitutions. We have found no exclusion of the bishop from capitular affairs; on the contrary, we find him requiring the presence of the whole great chapter, initiating legislation, and that upon important matters of public business as well as upon the cathedral economy, and, with their consent, promulging Statutes. In fact, the Visitation preserved in all its forms the Council of the bishop after the antient pattern.

It is possible that at the early date when we find that Hugh conceived it to be impossible for him to work his diocese without the constant counsel of numerous efficient men in his chapter, there were no visitations at all; and it is possible that Grosseteste erred in trying rather to make the discipline of the chapter correct than their labours useful. Nevertheless the Councils lived on perfectly as to form

* Bishop Wake's MS. Register, fo. 255.

† Bishop Gibson's MS. Register, fo. 53.

in the Visitations, only the intervals grew longer between them, and their business by degrees became merely disciplinary and mundane. Still, the relation between the bishop and chapter was well understood in accordance with the canon law and the cathedral statutes. The Reformation had left it unaltered; the Restoration had seen it resumed.

But the life which no convulsions checked, lethargy overpowered. The *last* Visitations of Cathedrals were held in and about the *first* years in which *Convocation was not summoned;* and I believe it will be found that, for a century and a half after that cessation, capitular visitations were quite rare and irregular even where until then they had been regular. All church councils slumbered together.

Pass little more than a century, and we find the old relations altogether dormant.

In 1854 the Commission puts to all the English chapters the question:—"*What are the relations between the bishop and the chapter?*"

Durham replies, "They are considered to be the *relations* of a body having certain duties to perform, and living under certain statutable rules and regulations, *to the authority appointed by the Crown,* to secure the performance of those duties and the observance of those rules and regulations."

The idea that they are "*Fratres Episcopi,*" his "*consilium,*" the "senate of their diocese"—that he is the "principalis *pars* capituli," and the "*culmen*"

of their own dignities—that he and they together possess the power of making and re-modelling statutes—all that gave worth to their institution and reality to their life was gone. He is a Crown Officer, appointed to see that they do not break their law.

Hereford answers the same question tersely, "Visitational"; having previously replied to "What are the powers of the 'Visitor'?" by "He is *interpreter* of the *statutes*."

"*What are the Rights of the Bishop with respect to the cathedral church?*" asks the Commission.

Winchester says, "None, except as visitor."

Worcester, "Visitor only."

Gloucester, "The bishop is entitled to a seat in the cathedral church, and is visitor of the chapter."

As for his duty or right to feed his flock with the "Verbum Prædicationis," *Salisbury* replies, "No days are set apart for the bishop; whether this implies or negatives any claim of right we know not."

Again, as to the exercise of the one conceded function. "Have you any account of antient visitations or of recent ones?" *Worcester* depones, "Yes, of antient, but of no modern visitations," and most follow in a similar sense. The whole conciliar life had in fact hybernated so long, torpid, forgetting and forgotten, that, while in any treatise on capitular

law the Definition of a Chapter states the fact unquestionable and historic, and while every page is studded with such expressions as "*Episcopi senatus*," "*cum assensu capituli*," "*absque consensu episcopi*," "*jus simultaneæ*," "*episcopus capitulum cogit*," "*canonicos sententiam rogat*," "*consilium sequi non tenetur*," "*absque consensu capituli Episcopus non potest*," &c., there is not in any single answer from all the deans and chapters of England in 1854 any indication that they regarded themselves as in origin, foundation, design, attributes, rights, or powers, having even a theoretical connection with episcopal government or ecclesiastical counsel.* Even

* The same disappearance of the theory (and equally modern) is visible in France. De Bouix remarks that the old style of commencing episcopal mandates, &c., "De consilio venerabilium fratrum nostrorum canonicorum," which remained in use long after the Concordat of 1801, has quite recently (in 1852) been abandoned. The Mandement of the Archbishop of Rouen, however (1878), seems to show that it is now again in use. After a preliminary essay on "Le Culte des Morts" it runs, "à ces causes, le saint nom de Dieu invoqué, et après en avoir délibéré avec nos vénérables Frères les Chanoines et Chapitre de notre Église Métropolitaine, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit." Then follow nine rules for the observance of Lent.

The fact that the foreign chapters have been crippled in their powers of serving the church and society exactly as our own have,—and feel it as acutely,—is by itself sufficient to shew (were it otherwise doubtful) that the causes of this disability are earlier than the Reformation. They have not had, it is true, the hopeless bane of non-residence to fight against. Their canons invariably reside nine months or more. They usually forfeited dividends for absence even during any part of the other three months. Even now that the canonical stipends are paid

the mere symbol ceased. Even to "shew the bishop his place in the chapter-house" at installation has been given up, no one knows when.

What a blank century and a half lies between 1727, when Bishop Reynolds first intermitted the triennial capitular gathering—the last relic of the Council—and 1871, when the chapter, taking their own place as senatus to the presiding bishop, opened the doors of their house to the priests and deacons of the diocese in Synod. That assembly, more primitive in character than the middle ages ever convoked there, in its turn evoked a Representative body of clergy and laity. Such church Conferences perhaps it belonged entirely to our own age of representative deliberation to create; but they have arisen simultaneously round almost every English prelate, and certainly they have a place of their own prepared in church history.

The results of our inquiry into the causes and progress of decline in the Cathedral of the past should be summed up.

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by government, since the seizure of the church estates, the chapters (I believe) continue this system by arrangement for fines among themselves. But they have had the worse hindrance of Papal interference, the corroding action of that central power which has been labouring for centuries to reduce the bishops to the condition of officials of its court, and to isolate them from every council and person capable of supporting their independence and their dignity.

Those causes, then, are not of modern origin; although they have acted with accelerating speed in recent times.

From the very distant period at which separate estates began to be assigned to each canon (although in some places this was not completed until the thirteenth century), the solvents have been at work. That 'prebendal' system, as we may call it, became at last universal; it secured great local advantages; but it was sapping the cathedral system at its centre. Its action was simple. "The prebendaries wished to live at and look after their separate estates."* Further, it left the Common Fund of the Residentiaries weak and unimproving. The dividend was small; in some of even the great cathedrals insufficient to meet the bare outgoings of residence.† Even where it was larger, every canon who put himself into residence of course reduced the dividend. Hence the long struggles of the residentiaries to prevent the increase of their number.‡

During all this time the system of pluralities was growing too; and at last we were steeped in the absenteeism, misrule, ostentation, courtiership, Romanism of the later middle age.

Still up to and all through the Reformation the

* Append. to First Cathedral Report, p. 369.

† Bp. Roger Mortival's Statement, A.D. 1319, l. c.

‡ Described by Dr. Freeman with such force in his 'History of Wells Cathedral.'

cathedrals were felt to be so useful and practical in their effect* on episcopal work, on study, on teaching, on general cultivation, and in maintaining a high tone both of feeling and worship, that the general desire of the governing powers was to increase and strengthen them. Many of the cathedrals, especially St. Paul's, were in trouble with the more advanced bishops; but their influence was not really in favour of restoring relations with the papacy, and they contributed more than any other influence to make our Reformation, what Lord Macaulay names it, "a preserving revolution;" to make it "of all revolutions the most beneficent."†

Still spread and grew the gnawing mischief of the system of Absences, called "Residence"; which positively provoked and stimulated what was worldly and selfish in the ecclesiastic. And when in the worry of controversy an active knot vexed its bishop as the chapter of Canterbury did Cranmer, or when a Genevan dean traversed the view of both bishop and chapter, joint counselling grew "much discomfortable to them all." Both Houses of Convocation alike found it convenient to legalise, and at last even to insist on, non-residence.

Diocesan councils thus broken up, the Provincial

* Mark in the pages of Strype the number of active canons and prebendaries engaged in all that was going forward.

† The noble motto to Dr. Freeman's Essay on "The Churches of the Old Foundation" in Dean Howson's volume.

council fell next. Convocation was silenced. Simultaneously with that came the cessation of cathedral Visitations, the last semblance and remnant of the bishop's Senate. Then the palmer-worm, and the canker-worm, and the caterpillar; the family, the favourite, the party. Then blank oblivion of the covenant, and inability to decipher it.*

And now the course begins again. Many obstacles which cumbered it are gone. The separate estates are never more a stumbling-block. Safe in Whitehall. But there is a general return to conciliar principles of action as against isolations. Cathedral life and cathedral work were never more needed or more yearned after. But this time μὴ εἰς παγίδα ἐμπεσεῖν τοῦ διαβόλου. "*If anything is to be done at all* residentiaries must *really reside* at the cathedral; it must be their *home*, and they must hold *no office* which involves residence elsewhere." So writes our most learned and penetrating historian.†

VII.—THE POSSIBLE RESTORATION OF CONCILIAR WORK TO THE CHAPTERS.

Our *Third* Head is the Return from Captivity.

We have done our best to investigate cathedral principles in that which is defined by legal writers to be their "essence," viz. the Relation of the Chapter to the Bishop. We have endeavoured

* See p. 8.

† And so in strongest terms the Cathedral Commission, 3rd Rep. p. vii.

to pursue so complicated a subject in the way which seemed likely to prove most fruitful and most intelligible, viz. first, by a general sketch of the original conception of those relations, and of the laws by which they worked; and, secondly, by tracing the disappearance of those old relations through the history of one institution, which began as almost the grandest of them. This mode appeared to be more truthful in spirit than to generalise from mere specimens of the different epochs of many; but having arrived, in one, at the vanishing point of those relations, we ascertained that, at any rate, the *result* and *status quo* seemed to be the same in all at the same periods, so that we may infer the general operation of similar causes.

We have arrived at the conclusion that, while other important functions are "accidental," the "*essential*" character of the institution is *conciliar*: that, through the pressure of the see of Rome, through secular influences, indirectly through legislation not designed to produce this effect, and other causes, the bishops ceased to evoke capitular action; that still the forms of action lingered and possessed considerable vigour to a much later period, and that at the present time all the forms and all the powers are in being, ready to spring to life at the call of energetic tempers and comprehensive policies.

Is it well to re-animate them? This is a question which must be determined now or never.

Our church polity, the polity of the universal church, has, for evil or for good, been altered by the virtual suppression of the great capitular system of the dioceses as to its principal or essential end.

Has the modification been beneficial? If so, the influence of (1) the Chapter itself should, owing to the detachment, have been felt more strongly in some other directions: (2) the Episcopal office should have become more effective through being untrammelled.

But where are we to look for the *increased* beneficial influence of chapters? Is it not true that though Churchmen have no single κειμήλιον or heir-loom which they regard with the same reverent instinctive tenderness as their cathedrals, they still feel the present languor of them to be a weak point offered to our detractors? With regard to *increased* efficiency in the episcopal office in default of a regular council, even some access of promptitude would have been poor compensation for the loss of deliberations, for the weakness of solitude,—and, have we gained the promptitude?

We may judge whether the present graceful ruin can be acquiesced in by a rebuilding age, by reflecting first whether, in our wish to make chapters efficient, we could consent to make them *powerful as they are?* Should we not feel that their present isolation and exclusiveness, if strengthened, would amount to something worse than Cistercian independence, more dangerous to themselves and to the

institutions bound up with them? Or thus; whilst no see in Europe was ever created without a chapter, who would now *propose to establish a bishopric anywhere in connection with a chapter*, according to our prevalent conception of chapters, viz., to transact internal business created simply by their own existence, to give the bishop a seat in church, and to appeal to him in their own controversies? What is the fact? The province of South Africa,—which is not wanting in ecclesiastical feeling,—has drawn up its "constitution and canons" for the ordering of its five dioceses. In fifty careful pages there is not a single allusion to the very existence of a chapter for any of the sees—no sense of its requirement. This is not due to any emolumentary or social requirements of chapters according to the true idea of them. The clergy of a town, even two or three, may constitute an episcopal chapter. Common worship, however desirable, is not "essential." The best canonists of France, as we have seen, lament that "*munia multa*" and absence of means at the present day preclude it in some cathedrals. But the chapters are none the less chapters. It is to be regretted, therefore, that South Africa should not legislate for chapters; but who can wonder?

[*Deo gratias.* The last paragraph is true to the letter no more. Since it was written South Africa, at Bloemfontein, has constituted, and many sees of America desire, a chapter of canons. And parliament has fully legislated for one in England.]

It may be confidently asked whether any single church improvement could be more effective, or more comprehensive, than the restoration of chapters to their primitive idea.

Not for the sake of church services only and nave sermons. If that were all, a rector with two curates might organise perhaps a more captivating ceremonial or a more popular cycle of preachers. Nay, not merely for the conservation of the more glorious type of worship or for more fire-abiding edification.*

Nor yet solely for isolated works. Foreign churches, after having destroyed the true action of the chapters, tried, with some success, to compensate it in this way.† With us there are most important works not done now at all, nowhere likely to be done, nowhere capable of being done, unless cathedrals undertake them. The training of the clergy in such scientific theology as the Universities may decline, in doctrine and in pastoral care and in church discipline; the diocesan inspection of religious education; the preparation of an order of Readers, one of our principal wants; the "guidance of the

* 1 Cor. iii. 13.

† We may instance the institution in obedience to the Council of Trent, of a Pœnitentiarius, or Confessor-General, of a Theologus, or Divinity Professor, and of a Seminary in every cathedral, and a Divinity School in many. [*Scholæ Theologicæ* and *Seminaria* must be distinguished: the former *ad integram civitatis clerum destinantur*; the latter *ad unius diœcesis tantum clericalem juventutem*. 'Instt. Jur. Canon.' vol. ii. p. 233, pars ii. lib. ii.]

younger clergy in study;" arrangements for "conferences with a view to theological, practical, and devotional exercise and discipline;" "organization of diocesan church and school building societies;" organization of charitable societies in general; organization of preaching missions; organization of Sunday Schools;—for if one silent change more remarkable and less likely to be remarked than any other is in process among us, it is the wholly altered relation of the Sunday School to Church Order, which is produced by the legislation creating School Boards. They become *the* Catechetical Institution of the English Church. All these loud-voiced wants appeal at once to Cathedrals as central institutions, competent, endowed, dignified. And no doubt many would be contented if one canon should undertake one, and another another of these, and become inspector, almoner, "theologus," missioner, and the like, for the diocese.

But indeed these individual works are at once necessary and subordinate.

As occupations we grant they ought now to take the place of the scattered parochial charges, and old prebendal livings, which, more than any other one cause, have prevented the redintegration and effectiveness of the corporate unities. For these old anti-residential cures let there by all means be substituted, in obedience to our upspringing necessities, such offices as shall naturally bring the canons to

the centre of the diocese. We shall have more to say of these presently, but let their *principal* activity be corporate, conciliar.

"But this demands—" Yes! who knows not what it demands?—The co-operation—a *brotherly* co-operation—of the bishop with his chapter—the co-operation of the chapter with their bishop. Perhaps it requires the return of a bygone sentiment, that he should once more stand by what he still names at every institution of every parish priest, "the honour and dignity of our cathedral church;" that he should stand by her as of old he was commanded to do "like a bridegroom at the side of his bride." But is that to be despaired of?

May we not with all modesty think (and better be silent than presumptuous) that Isolation is one great cause of episcopal difficulties at this time—difficulties with which no true Churchman can fail to sympathise, and which have never been greater since the Long Parliament? Would not episcopal authority weigh more with laymen were it well understood that it might be depended upon to speak out and to judge when the church lacked counsel and judgment, and that, when it spoke, it was after deliberate consultation with well-known, experienced, and trusted Elders? Take a single example. How is a modern Charge received?—And Charges date from just the time when the relations between bishops and chapters came finally to an end; Bishop Compton's is said to

have been the first.—It floats on the waves of the church-world like any other paper; it is the scroll containing what no Church could at the most call more than the "probable opinions" of one doctor—grave and thoughtful, a theologian, perhaps, or somewhat of a statesman—but only one.

And what is the precise gain which is due to the modern solitariness of the bishop's action? Unity? There is no unity in human affairs without union. The theory of episcopal unity is nowhere so baldly stated as in the Ignatian Epistles. But by unity they do not mean *isolation*. What they dwell on is the bishop's harmonious action with his *Presbytery*. "The precious circlet of the Presbytery;" "The council board of God;"* that is, practically, the Committee of the nearest gravest clergy.†

The primitive view of the strength of the episcopate was certainly not solitariness; but we, whether the causes are social, or whether it is due to some unconscious imitation, have been reproducing in our episcopate nearly that isolation which Rome has effected for her bishops, with the deliberate aim, in her case, of obliging them to turn for support to the Vatican.

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* Ἀξιάπλοκος στέφανος τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου—συνέδριον Θεοῦ.

† Is it not worth observing that, while they almost invariably speak of the deacons as units in the plural, they with almost equal invariableness, speak, not of the presbyters, but of the Presbytery as a union, and especially in connection with the bishops?

But again, the increasing complications of modern life render conciliar action the more needful. No one culture or experience weighs or does justice to all these. The representative character of our institutions has to be reflected in the regulation of any transaction. Every class, every *contour-line* in society, is so completely dominated by its own ideas that the representative man for each is wanted to express the thoughts of it, and his expression of them must be heard on almost every subject. In the great eras of church-councils life was complicated with myriad ideas. Classes, bloods, parties, officialities, philosophies, met in the church, and without councils nothing could be done. Then came outwardly simpler eras, when feudalism, monarchies, imperialism, papacy, threw the thoughts, habits, associations of orders into parallel lines which could not interosculate. Councils drooped. In church administration offices became isolated. In England a single dominant church-state presently dispensed with convocations, with synods, and with chapters. It is so no more. Theological opinions, Christian life and religious benevolence foam in a thousand currents; a *πολυποίκιλος σοφία* is again demanded. Unity can be gained only by combinations and associations, and it is proceeding before our eyes. All the "Dispersions" are re-assembling. Convocation has been learning to work for years. Synods are convened. Congresses and Conferences have

sprung up of themselves, and prepare the way for more regular forms. The Vatican herself has held an abnormal council, done an abnormal work, and provoked thunder from the other pole. It is modern life itself which is doing all this, and modern life suggests to the bishops that they should not be slow to revive their chapters.

To England it seems to be reserved—through her love of the truth—through her primitive organization—through her world-wide opportunities—to be present, by the grace of God, with the church of the whole earth. Must we not hope that her episcopacy will present to the world no anomalous spectacle and no unreal image—neither a church-ruler without a council, nor a council of shadows?

For it is not to fetter action but to develop thought that a council sits. The bishop's power is, according to the old definitions, as we saw, a true *monarchia*, and he alone has legislative power. The council does not direct—it expresses. It expresses its own thought, and its thought about the thought of the world. It fulfils, in a purer way and concerning the higher class of subjects, the function which the journal fulfils in an unrefined way for the world. Its influence is confined to expressing thoughts—and that influence has no limit. It has no legislative right. It cannot dictate—it formulates. This is exactly the definition of the function of a chapter for its bishop. "He should seek its counsel, but

does not need its consent." "He is bound to ask, though not to follow."

And now to pause. No institution was ever so unfairly tried. No institution is so unfairly judged. That in our cathedral bodies have ever flourished our greatest Churchmen is most certain. Trammelled and laden as they have been, they are reproached for moving slowly. The wonder is that of each form which the modern revival of church-life has taken—in church-councils, in systematic and in powerful preaching, in educating clergy, in united worship, in grandeur of service, in historic restoration—it is still in this or that cathedral that, with all shortcomings, we find the greatest example. Doubtless their capabilities are as far beyond their performance as freedom is different from their present estate. But if Churchmen are anxious for their liberation, Chapters are more anxious. "Who is offended, and they burn not?"

If it be desirable to resume the old relations we may have learnt, there need be no jar in the resumption. The golden chain is not broken—simply unclasped. The only step needed *in foro exteriori* is that which is suggested by many other considerations—to extend to canons the law which already requires deans to reside nine months,* hold-

* This residence of nine months was the universal and immemorial rule of chapters according to the canonists. They hold that no cathedral statutes, no customs, no licence from the

ing no other benefices,—or, if there exist any modern restriction upon the chapter's and visitor's ancient, universal, statutable power of statute-making, to procure the suspension of that restriction, and then to demand new codes within a fixed time.

The rest, so far as the form is concerned, is matter of internal organization. In place of the benefices, central diocesan offices; the staff extended by the restoration of suppressed prebends and canonries, as the existing law directs; experimentally, by the guarantee of stipends for a term of years. The church's gratitude has already been earned by steps taken by some of the bishops, by the earnest advances of some chapters, by the able and devout labours of many members of chapters, towards these ends, and so far a new spirit may be breathed into the life and work of the individual canon.

But the corporate life of the whole is something greater than the aggregate activity of its members. And to bid this live rests with our church-fathers only.

It is for them—if they so will it—to take and make occasions for recognising in their chapters, not

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bishop or from the chapter can extend the vacation of three months, *except* only for professors in the university, or for the quinquennial study, above mentioned. And the "inconveniences" arising even from this exemption were held to be such that Bellarmin warns those who avail themselves of it that unless their studies, while out of residence, are most solid, most real, the exemption is only good *in foro fori* and not *in foro poli*.

merely valued friends, but the greatest and antientest of their own institutions.

Held, as it was, through many ages of practical work, to be the indispensable auxiliar of their own order and office—misunderstood for a while and misused, yet in substance marvellously preserved to us—the discerning eye and delicate hand may yet again revert to its traces among the elements of modern life as the symmetric ground plan of new church energy and order.

VIII.—OF OTHER CENTRAL WORKS INCUMBENT ON CATHEDRALS.

We have studied as we could the essential constitution as well as some of the more popular functions of the large compact body which constituted an antient chapter. We have not averted our eyes from its possible, its actual failure. Its scope and aims might be summed in three words — "science, law, religion." Not severed like monastic orders from the daily interests of the citizens, the secular foundation continued for centuries to be *of* the people as it sprang *from* the people. Its members were the busiest of men and the least recluse. The history of an early English bishop of that age—himself a man of the people—is often a narrative of successful war against nobles, courts and popes. The identity of his interests with the

interests of the commons is set forth in the old metaphor that he was betrothed to his church, and pledged to stand by her as her husband. The continuity of the tradition was set forth with a strange beauty in the church of Lincoln, when, on the recurrence of any bishop's "obit," the canons lit with tapers not his tomb only, but the tomb of every bishop through the church. The brightness of that continuity has ceased for a while, and various influences effected a divorce* which gave to both sides ease without peace, awoke jealousies which shifted their ground from the best interests of society to poorest trivialities, distorted the view of chapter life, and forfeits claim to administrate noble means.

The cathedral has in our day to begin the world again, and inch by inch to win its way back to a usefulness commensurate with its dignity.

For is there no need? Rather is not the conviction very general and very strong that the Church of England labours under disabilities which no existent machinery is at work to remedy; that its great plan is invalidated by deficiencies which are scarcely supplemented, much less re-

* Nearly the same severance has occurred in the Church of Rome, for which Saravia gives two causes:—1. Negligentia Canonicorum, 2. The fact that the chapters were not represented at the Council of Trent, and that their antient rights were then curtailed. In England at least one of those causes has not been operative.

paired? It may not be possible to deny the necessity of such changes as have been made from other points of view; but we cannot refuse to see the fact, that while the church is unable in any way to contract her operation, and must accelerate her work of evangelization, not only upon Divine principles but upon national grounds, she must, for a complete training of ecclesiastical or clerical energies, cease to look to the universities. They have altered their aims. They have their Scientific Faculty of Theology still. Noblest and holiest personal influences may and do live in them. But, owing to their altered relation to the Church, she has been for years past without sufficient "centres" or "organisms" from and through which new and living energies of the character required can come into operation or receive their direction. Yet we already possess in our cathedrals—if the church shall devote itself to renew their vitality, and to reconstruct them—organic centres, bases of operation, outlines of advance. We have in them types of societies—shrunken, yet alive—which resemble, which indeed gave the pattern to the universities themselves, and are specially adapted to address themselves successfully to the solution of these problems. On the one side lie definite necessary functions to be performed; on the other side there are capable bodies, craving these very functions, and with faculties for expansion in just proportion to the

demands. May we not forge the link which shall restore the office to the officers?

The cathedral bodies themselves are inseparably connected with the history and progress of Christianity in England. They date back to its very planting. They have needed revision and renovation from time to time. Speaking approximately, the 11th, the 14th, and the 16th centuries have been the periods of their successive regenerations. Now the 19th claims its own revival.

The spirit of four hundred and forty years ago demanded and effected such a rehabilitation on the express ground that "Old institutions are not at present adequate to the questions and the transactions that are daily confronting us."* Is not the axiom conceived in the very spirit of our own times? We must then briefly touch the needs of our modern church (and we would willingly touch them in a spirit not less reverent than practical), and examine how far remedies are to be found in the revival of diocesan and cathedral institutions.

I. *Clergy Training.* (1) *Knowledge.*—The foremost place in the functions of the cathedral must be assigned to it as a home and hearth of theological learning. The Church of England cannot abnegate her position as a learned church. That position

* "Quæstionibus et negotiis indies occurrentibus antiqua non sufficiunt instituta." Bp. Alnwick's Proëm to the New Register.

has made her sympathetic with every advance in knowledge, appreciative of every expansion of art, capable of every development of method. In criticism, in science, in every walk of literature, her clergy claim some of the highest names. In welcoming and in popularising new discoveries they have no equals. If in any quarter of a century there has been in her a declension of learning, then the steadiness of her spiritual advance has slackened too. The immediate prospects of Christianity itself are so compromised in her truthfulness, that not for a moment can her light be suffered to flicker. "Practical work" is the popular demand just now, and "results" immediate, examinable, the test of "work." It is a standard which, superficial as it is, the English Church has no reason to fear. But the history of civilisation is read to little purpose, if it is doubted that "practical work" can only be built on living truth, progressive science, accurate knowledge.

If these beliefs of ours as Churchmen of Christ are to *live*, are to work, to make life purer and deeds stronger than they are, the first "practical work" is with men before they receive the Holy Seals which either consecrate them effectively to the most teaching ministry under heaven, or "make a show of them" as "blind leaders of the blind." The promise of the Spirit is not that they shall teach what they do not know. Yet it is an undisguised fact that

bishops and bishops' examiners are dissatisfied with the acquirements of those whom they examine and certify for holy orders. Not a tenth of the candidates in the most attractive dioceses can be said to pass each examination as all ought to pass it. The deficiency is general. Accurate comprehensive study of Scripture, the Greek Testament, the Christian evidences, scientific knowledge of Creed and Articles, are very rare. Church history is commonly the best prepared subject, but the knowledge is desultory. Latin, even when required, is less satisfactory still as evidence of sound study. Of the "Sermons" it can only be said that they are better than could be expected. An observant examiner perceives that what his examinees lack, is not ability or earnestness, but cultivation. An experienced examiner knows that more systematic Scripture knowledge is produced not only from men's but from girls' training-schools, than by the untrained average "candidate." Many are the men who "pick up" their work as they best can in two or three months after the bishop's secretary has furnished them with a list of famous books, some known to them by name, some not, and the chaplain has recommended them to study the Bible or Greek Testament in a method and upon a system with which they never read a book before. But there is a more piteous person still. The youth wiser than the aged, able and willing to rebuke

judge or prelate, who, from what he probably calls "the Use" of the district-church to which he has been a semi-attached acolyte, and from the droppings of journalists whom he takes to be divines, has gotten him some stray, chipped shells of the shore of that vast archæology called Ritual. This Archæology is as good or better than other Archæology. For it has a fine old heart within. But it is a very difficult subject, and he believes it to be easy and amusing. He thinks his little scraplets will do more for him and his people than the "History of the Jews." Yet his intentions are good, his spirit self-denying, his life devout. Send him as he is into a parish, he will do harm. Give him two or three years of wise, broad, sympathetic teaching; "at last he beats his music out," and many are the souls that will bless him before they die.

"*Ne pretiosa nostra vilescant, et ministri sint sic in contemptum*" is one of William Alnwick's weighty warnings to his chapter and vicars, as he urges on them a high and intelligent tone of devotion. The warning is needed now. What proportion of the examinees, at any ordination, are competent to deal with problems which every educated layman of their own age suggests? or to explain a "hard place" to a half-informed inquirer? to reproduce with accuracy the reasoning on which the most important dogmas rest? to replace with a sounder evidence one which has proved fallacious? Let examiners say.

We need a skilled clergy more than ever, yet it may be doubted whether we have been ever more defective. The country clergyman of a hundred years ago was often a learned man in his retirement. The town clergy were above the average of their equals in attainment. But let our working clergy pass a quarter of a century more in their present relations to the 'educated class,' and then *pretiosa nostra vilescent.* As a caste they would necessarily still subsist; perhaps even invested for the devouter minds with some added touches of quasi-religious awe; always received with the regard loyally rendered to diligence and to benevolence. But even now an ominous kindly silence too frequently closes a discussion begun in presence of a clergyman. His character commands regard; he has credit for sincerely believing what his friends might equally accept, if the living speech of the teacher defended or even clearly stated his truth. But that habitual gentle silence, if it is not broken soon, means night or storm.

Now, *where* are all the men to be taught, who are wanted and who come in increasing numbers? No disinterested person will maintain that either fitter places can be found than diocesan cathedral colleges, or that the cathedrals are unable to undertake such noble duty. The universities cannot do it. The universities cannot succeed in giving clerical training to more than a select few. But were they ever so

successful, and were the current of university movement more favourable to such training than it is, they would not supply much more than a single diocese with cultivated men. There is wanted rational, truthful and serviceable knowledge, substantial teaching for *every* man, whatever his calibre, or however imperfectly educated in classics, who, in earnestness and sober zeal (and these qualities abundantly exist) presents himself to be accredited as qualified to impart the church's knowledge, to defend to some extent the church's position.

But by this time nearly all the university endowments given by old bishops expressly to secure a learned clergy to their own dioceses or to the country at large have been by recent enactments devoted to laymen and their babes. New associations are forced on us, new uses of such provision as we have. Neither alone, nor unendowed can Church scholars work and live.

The Universities must ever be the centres of theological science properly so called. That is admitted. Their libraries, their professorships, their tradition, above all the genius they attract to themselves, secure this rightful pre-eminence. Used, misused, or neglected theirs is a spiritual office,* if the "treasures of wisdom" are really Christ's.

* See Prof. Westcott "On the Religious Office of the Universities," Macmillan, 1873, and again his Essay on "Cathedrals in relation to Religious Thought" in Dean Howson's collection, Murray, 1872.

Oxford apparently dwells less on the importance of a school for undergraduates, more, if so be, on other things. The Cambridge school has not only pursued the most refined criticism and hermeneutics, but has developed an immense power among her younger students. Again by offering "the Preliminary Examination" to all candidates for orders in the country she has applied a beneficial stimulus and given a truer standard to all theological colleges, to all men reading anywhere for the same ends, and has raised the tone of most ordination examinations.

But when the Theological Faculty has so consolidated itself, so concentrated and classified its professorial schools, as to give adequate training in the literary and historical sections of Theological Science—Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical and Doctrinal History, Liturgiology,—there would still remain as pure clerical training the gravest Dogmatical Studies, there would still be the necessary supplement of Pastoral Divinity. It comes to this. The universities do not, could not, train a quarter of the clerical labour now required: again, for those whom they do train in their truest ways there must always remain subjects of importance still to be acquired. For these other men, these other matters, the cathedral schools would offer the fairest, the safest and the most natural opening.

One sole legislative enactment is needed; the same which on so many other grounds is called for. It is to place the future holders of canonries on the

same footing as the holders of every other benefice including deaneries; to withdraw their pluralities and to require nine months' cathedral residence. The canons will still be not less well endowed than most college tutors or university professors. This done, the colleges *ipso facto* exist. The difference between the "old" and "new" foundations lies mainly here. The new foundations, colleges of from seven to thirteen men, were founded with this for their leading purpose.* The "old foundations,"

* "Towards the latter end of this year (1539) several new deaneries and colleges of prebends were founded out of divers priories belonging to cathedral churches. Cranmer laboured with the king that in these new foundations there should be readers of Divinity, Greek, and Hebrew, and students trained up in religion and learning, from whence, as from a nursery, the bishops should supply their dioceses with honest and able ministers; and so *every* bishop should have a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merits; *for it was our archbishop's regret that the prebendaries were bestowed as they were.*" Strype, 'Mem. Cran.,' i. p. 107. See also among the citations in 1st Rep. Cath. Commission, p. xxiv., 'Cranmer's Letter to Cromwell concerning the Maintenance of *Twenty* Divines at Canterbury for reading Lectures in Theology and Arts.' "It appears," says Bishop Gibson (p. 180) from 31 Hen. VIII. c. 9, "that the great design was to make cathedrals nurseries of young divines for the service of the church, who, being trained in the study of divinity under the immediate inspection of the bishops, deans, and chapters," &c. See also Dr. C. Wordsworth's (Master of Trinity) account in the Letter previously referred to, of the College projected in the reign of James I. "to be attached to the Collegiate Church and Minster of Ripon," restored, as it was to be, to its antient use and dignity, with its splendid design for 30 colleagues, 70 junior fellows (10 students in arts, 8 in tongues, &c.), 120 probationers, 120 scholars, and 60 grammar scholars. See also Dr. W.'s extracts from Sir E. Sandys and Lord Bacon on the necessity of Divinity instruction.

though the same was a principal work of theirs, yet, were intended as colleges of thirty, fifty, or sixty men, to incorporate with this 'theoretic' (and by it to vivify), a vast mass of 'practical work' besides. In their restoration the aim must be not to revive the latter alone; this severed from the former must 'lose its savour;' each may best be carried on in unison with the other—above all, if there be a specialising co-operation in the divisions of study.

If the possible encouragement of a spirit of 'clique' has sometimes seemed to be an objection to 'theological colleges,' this is a danger against which the open character of English theology, the tone of modern cultivation, the variety of class which would yield both canon-tutors and students, are adequate securities. But, in fact, it is the absence of mutual culture, it is the want of intercommunion of ideas, it is the missing of earlier collision with other minds, upon great subjects, which is—far more than any special association—the cause of our starveling tendencies to *cliquetry*.

II. *Clergy Training in* (2) *Pastoral Care*.—Again, the young clergy need preliminary instruction as to 'visiting,' as to meeting on equal terms the dissenter, the semi-detached churchman, the doubter, the scoffer, the inquirer. In the cottage it craves a nice skill to hush the querulous garrulous tongue, yet leave no sting; to touch a hardened heart and leave no shame of defeat; so to read the sad secret

as not to leave hearts comfortless and passionate for years. And there is many a cottage whose wonderful peace is not understood; its inmates as they look after the healthy active figure, quitting the threshold, gravely say in their language, "He means well, but he is not converted;" and there is a depth in what they say beyond their own penetrating. How infinitely complex do all the problems which hence arise become, when they spring up among the young clergyman's equals in constant intercourse, and among his superiors, who in one great sense are ready to treat him as theirs, if he vindicate the meaning of his commission. No doubt our clergy "visit" with much of wisdom, simply because they are so true and frank. Still, through how many painful failures, through how much impatience, how much blank tongue-tied distress do they pass! How much do they feel to have been sacrificed to many an undisciplined dash into the valley of death! With their school-teaching it is the same. How long it is before the fresh curate commands stillness without effort in the Sunday-school! How long with his best scholars he wavers between baldness and formula! How long it is before he finds that footing from which he may so seem to climb with his hearers that they may climb without shrinking! How universal the complaint that the "Meeting" reaps the fruit of his labours! Our certificated schoolmasters have an advantage here

which compensates for many a defect. They have method at least, the clergyman has none. The earnest, pious man can *acquire*, can be taught, the method. There is no doubt about it.

(1) To meet such deficiencies as oppress the individual, and tend directly to lower the order, we require throughout England certain centres which shall adequately train *not more* than from thirty to fifty men at once—numbers which will admit of being broken up into *small* 'lectures' or classes, such as the best colleges form for themselves in the universities for kindred subjects of morality, metaphysics, or political economy. There is nothing to be gained by massing such students. They do not want the 'little world' theory of school and college applied to them at the age of from 21 to 30. They want contact with disciplined thoughtful minds. This is the only way of teaching higher subjects to grown men. There are wanted facilities for dialogising; they want 'papers' to work at, to consider, and to answer; not long hours of teaching; constant exercitations in writing, and (though we have yet to form our method in this department) some oratorical instruction which shall elevate and advance the present level. What a Cyprian and an Augustine did not disdain to teach—what Cicero, at the age of twenty-eight, did not disdain to learn in the lecture-room of Molo—can be despised only by a 'rustic' or a 'banausic' spirit.

(2) Thus much for one side of the training. For the other, men preparing for ministerial work should, for certain periods, during the curriculum of the preparation, be broken up into threes and fours, and placed under the direction of able parish priests of experience. How many of these there are of mature age, whose youth was passed under certain great personal influences! And again, what an immense effect the church experiences of recent years have had on all observant, thoughtful clergy. Many are, or are becoming, most valuable guides, most meet at once to encourage and to temper the zeal and the energies of aspirants to work like their own. Our true modern theological college would make arrangements, whether in the cathedral town or in neighbouring parishes, for setting its alumni to work under the eye of such men as these, and to listen to their shrewd affectionateness. So would they be not only instructed, but enabled to deal with the shop and the cottage and the railway; useful from the first to some extent in church and school to the rector or vicar who receives them, and learning from him such method as will save them years of disappointing labour, as they gain the effectual unobtrusive art of giving expression to their sympathy and their devotion.

We know how one great scholar and self-denying priest gathered above a hundred university men in ten years, daily studied the Greek Testament for an

hour with them, and gave pastoral training in his parish to those who would come and live within its boundary. Well-organized institutions, in which one man should supply another's need—for few are they whose ability and ready learning and Christian tact could effect so much unaided—which could attract the interest of some of the leading clergy of the diocese; which could carry out pecuniary arrangements with economy and skill, might spring up in every cathedral city, whilst beautiful and glorious associations would dignify the work.

III. Again, is it hopeless to believe that we may by degrees create a staff of *Free Preachers?* This belongs distinctly both to the antient and to the Reformed notion of a cathedral. The Report*—that noble monument of conscientious work—quotes Bishop Stillingfleet's account of early London, with its "retired" Westminster, "intended for a nursery to the church, while St. Paul's was assigned to those who were sent up and down by the bishop to such places as he thought fit, for instructing the people." Cranmer's Foundation of the Six Preachers of Canterbury is well known: these were provided with horses for their tours through the county of Kent as well as houses of residence. Knowing the effective use which both Rome and Nonconformity make of such institutions, we can never doubt their adviss-

* First, p. xxxiv.

bility or their feasibility. Still less can we doubt that the most vigorous and most temperate rendezvous would be the head-quarters of the diocese.

The Mission movement has assumed great proportions. But there is no real organization of missions hitherto. Every diocese ought to have its own large staff of Missioners regularly associated and authorized from among its own parochial clergy. But beyond this there ought to be "in connection with the cathedral a band of men who would reserve themselves for missions, for lecturing in towns on topics of importance to the church and to society, for conducting services in special seasons, going where they were asked to help in preparing for confirmations or communions, perhaps actually taking charge of parishes, sometimes when the incumbent needed or desired diocesan help; perhaps sometimes taking itinerant preaching tours, preaching out of doors or elsewhere, when the pastor wished it."* And the whole band ought to be centred round a permanent head, a 'Secretary for Missions,' in fact a Canon Missioner. No organization short of this will fill the gaps which we all are staring at.

IV. But the cathedral owes a peculiar debt to its own *City*. It is a debt which the statutes frequently recognise. A severance of feeling which sometimes

* I quote from the admirable address of Canon Mason to the First Truro Conference, 1877.

exists (though by no means always), has its origin in recent apathies, not in old usage. The very fabric—the magnitude, for instance, of the nave—represents the fact. Diocesan gatherings and city organizations also are beginning to require and to replenish them at intervals; and it is scarcely necessary to assure ourselves that we see but the beginning of such combinations. Yet the class in society which (if we can single out one) we neglect more shamefully, more inexcusably, than any others is a city class; a class whose work lies under the shadow of cathedrals, of collegiate churches, of the great old parish churches,—young men in bankers', in attorneys' offices, in large warehouses, and in shops of every order. They have been well educated up to a certain age; well cared for in good schools; they are of excellent character, or they would not be where they are. But from the hour they enter on their business-training higher influences surrender and almost shun them. They need but a little living interest to be found for them, witness certain London congregations. But, alas! what falls for the many of them! Alas, what years of impurity! Separated from home—lonely in lodgings, what does society provide for them? The theatre, the music-hall, the dancing-room, unless after sedentary days they have some special heat of intellect left for solitary study. Some efforts are made, no doubt; but "Christian Associations," or "Church

Societies," thankfully as we own good service to good causes and still look onward for developments not stimulated by party spirit, have no great *lifting* power. But wherever there is a *body* of clergy, wherever there is anything like a *college*, wherever there are lecture rooms and libraries, there not only the authorities, but the students themselves may be infinitely serviceable to the very class in whom grows up what will be the whole tone, temper and character of the city. The college should have its *open* lectures, as well as its close ones. Its late evening lectures on subjects not purely theological should enrol its classes of these men. If formerly the construction of vaulted roofs, the thrust of walls, the balance of buttresses—nay, the construction of bridges, the formation and repair of highways were not unworthy studies in the most religious ages of the old and new foundation—will history, or physiology, or mathematics be beneath their teaching now? Minds furrowed with some intellectual plough best receive the seed of revealed Truth. What a field here for association of clergy with able laymen in the actual instruction! what a μαθήτευσις of young laymen to be the very strength of the church in its most important ranks! Let the cathedral body take a lead here. Its affiliations would overspread the diocese, and its associations would have an effect which the higher spirit even in commerce would gladly recognise and promote.

v. There is another modern exigency which a cathedral staff could help more wisely and more safely than any other. Some due preparation for the order of *Readers*. Far and wide the use of that Order has begun, upon a small scale, but duly sanctioned and with good results. The history of it will be that it will grow very slowly indeed for a time, and then have a very rapid large development. But an erratic development would rouse prejudice, and would bring some mischief. To impart the sense of unity to their work, to shape their zeal and to steady it, to gather them round centres of thoughtfulness and devotion and discipline, to assemble them there from time to time *pour se retremper*, will be essential to the permanence of their body and the fixity of their plan.

VI. There is another point in which the co-operation of laymen in cathedrals is seriously wanted on many accounts. The *Library* was in the old times a prominent feature of the cathedral. It ought to be so still. In most such libraries there are *strata* as it were of collections—plenteous ore in one generation, from folios to broad-sheets, in the next generation 'tenuis argilla.' When the chapter meant sixty people, and when those who had daily right and pressure to use the library, and had no other books to use, were two or three hundred, then it was at once a college library and a grand repository of archives. This it ought still to be. It ought

to contain archives of every town, every marked family, and every corporation in the diocese, as well as to maintain at full efficiency a library of reference and a theological library. It was a singular instance of the good sense and far sight of Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter that desiring and believing in the revival of the See of Cornwall, he gave all his theological collections to Truro on condition that a library should be built to receive them and future gifts. It was not beneath the dignity of a Synod of Rheims to represent to the clergy what petty sums their cherished books fetched at sales after their deaths and to beg that they would rather bequeath them to the cathedral libraries where they would be prized.

VII. After books we will take *Music*: but in a few words only. The cathedral was once—as we saw, in speaking of the precentorship—the musical centre of the diocese. Now, we see the musical centre fixed elsewhere. In some one or two dioceses, an officer discharges the identical office of the antient Succentor. They travel from choir to choir throughout its counties, testing, giving hints, introducing uniformity of style, organising a really great musical power. But they are not officers of the cathedral. The cathedral is the last church to concern itself with other churches. How much both it and they lose by the severance!

VIII. Equally practical, equally manageable, and already to some extent operative, is a cathedral

system of *School Inspection*. Here too St. Paul's has set the great example, re-endowing a confiscate stall for the purpose. Diocesan religious inspection, worked from the cathedral as a matter of modern utility, would be a simple revival of the most marked feature of the Chancellorship.*

We need say little of the city and cathedral schools themselves, because it is not every cathedral which has such schools; and as chapters have frozen into dignities, the school has sometimes found their shadow chill; and though as typical work it is important, yet the cathedral education should not be supposed to limit itself to this work; and again the Endowed Schools Act *exempts* the choristers' school from certain rules rather than groups others with it. But the 'Archididascalus,' and 'Ostiarius' Stall in some of the cathedrals have a moral, while here and there the training colleges take their cathedral place, the principal as prebendary, or as minor canon, even though the students are but as other strangers.

IX. There are other points on which it would be premature to enter, except in the pure spirit of

* Our best arrangements for Religious Instruction and Inspection are very imperfect at present. It was startling to hear American bishops tell us that the English Churchmen who leave these shores for theirs are swept off to every form of sect, and that their own American Churchmen are not; and that the faithfulness of their people is simply due to the regular, systematic, catechetical training in true doctrine which they use.

hope that when our church at large awakes to grander views of duty to all classes, the cathedrals may be the first to inaugurate them.

We may name one. Organised charitable work in *Hospital Service*. The church, that is, 'the whole congregation of Christian people' has grievously forfeited ground that was all her own, and the continent puts to shame our poor appreciation (except on some tremendous emergency) of the religious aspect and uses of the sacred office of nursing the sick. Our earliest attempts at the resumption were too full of excitement. "Medical jealousy," if it has any existence is no mere indifference to religion. The most religious surgeon may not see lives endangered through inexperience, however zealous. But some of the best nursed hospitals in London by their connection with St. John's House and other Sisterhoods have given precedents which will be followed. Trained lady nurses with their staff are the very angels of sick men. Nor can institutions for the training of Deaconesses have their head-quarters or local centres for country districts better than in the chief towns of the diocese—where counsel, buildings, money, recruits, and practice, can well be concentrated.

While the Leper's Hospital, founded in Lincoln by the founder of the cathedral himself; while the "medicine-niches" within the very walls of the

church bear witness to the old views of the situation; while Hugh's biographer tells of the '*matriculæ*' for incurables, on several of the episcopal farms, and of the bishop's frequent visits to them, "soothing them with a mother's gentleness; and with marvellous sweetness inweaving lessons of goodness in his comforting words"—is it a hopeless vision that the shadow of minster-towers passing round day by day might have some healing within its circle, some spiritual provision for those days of languor when the rudest are impressionable, and for those rare weeks of leisure? is it a hopeless vision to dream that there may one day exist a cathedral corps of hospital chaplains, a diocesan staff of trained nurses, deaconesses, Sisters?

The review of our Needs as Churchmen, even in a few particulars, has much in it that is saddening. Yet they are needs of *a special order*. Not one of these necessities is such as individual effort can deal with. They are equally beyond the grasp of a metropolitan centralisation. They can only be grappled with by association, by groups of forces around local centres. Various as they are, they admit to a great degree of being administered in concert from such points, while their variety would keep those centres distinct, and give to each the special, the individual, and, as it were the personal character which is desirable for healthy action. In none would all the elements be combined;

at none would they meet in the same proportions. Each would be an integral, living, organic, specific whole. But the point to observe is, that however feeble for a time this vital action, we do possess such "ganglia" already. We have such centres, types of a true mode of action. Our aim should be to complete, as it were, the electric circuit—*Fili hominis, viventne credis? Domine Deus, Tu nosti.*

If means have for a while been crippled, local forces partly exhausted, we may remember that it is our own fault; that the neglect and misuse of grand means could no longer be borne with. We may take some comfort from the thought that if we have lost the power of applying them when we now perhaps have learnt wisdom to apply them, the resources are at least not any longer *wasted*. The treasure unvalued till lost is serviceable elsewhere; and the legislation of the destroyer itself conferred the singular but important right to restore every single stall to existence by the foundation of a small stipend. Past misuse does not make our 'centres,' our 'types,' our 'lines' one whit less clear or less precious to us.

Let us gather up briefly the conclusions to which we are led. To solve in the most economical and in the most 'political' way the particular problems before us, we require and must effect *the Reconstruction, upon a liberal and popular basis, of a Cathedral System.* Popular, first as to the method of filling up the appointments. They must not be the joint-stock of

a circle of families however wide, or the guerdon of political adherence, nor even be sacrificed as pensions. Well-earned repose has a value of its own. But for the present we want *work* out of these institutions, not *repose*. Capability for responsible posts must be the sole pretext on which they, like other offices, must be assigned. Popular, secondly, as to the simple, self-denying lives of those who hold them. Popular, thirdly, as to the publicity of the work done. And this points at once to the renewed intimity of the bishop.

"Precedent," that potent Cathedral Spectre, though, when faced, it rarely proves to be fifty years old, must no more rule cathedrals than it rules any useful institution. Imagine a public school, a railway, a parish, a manufactory, in which nothing could be done which had not been done before!

But to develop the applicability of the institution to modern ends and needs, we come to details. And once again—we find every track explored brings us back to the same centre—the most important of all details essential to this "renewed intimity" of the bishop, to the counsel and service of the chapter to practical ends is—

(1) The *Residence of the Canons and Prebendaries*. This must be restored to the universal old perpetual or "major residence" of two-thirds of the year at least. The decay of practical usefulness began when the term of residence was altered and reduced to what

had formerly been the term of non-residence, and in some cases even to less. The old foundations and the new were alike originally legislated for upon the idea of *constant residence* as *fundamental*. Since the change, the fellow-counsellors, the fellow-workers the office-bearers of a once mighty group have, as "canons in residence," proceeded in solemn train through the year, like the apostles in Strasburg clock, each gazing on his predecessor's departing hood. What corporate action is possible for the most enlightened men so placed? Some of our least reforming cathedrals have had the most reforming canons. But intercourse was essential for determinate action, and how was intercourse to be had?

(2) *The Distinctness of Offices.* The one church of which we have spoken most has happily preserved the offices of the '*majores personæ*' as they were called—Precentor, Chancellor, Sub-dean, (Treasurer being extinct)—in conjunction with its residentiary-ships, owing to the fact that, even in the last century, its canons were generally resident,* and that the tradition of duties was never quite broken; the chancellor lecturing from time to time, and the precentor invariably ordering the service. But how grave an error has been committed in some cathedrals by severing the four dignities from the four residen-

* Page 42.

tiaryships. At St. Paul's, "an *entirely new body* of four canons was created by the Act of 1840; and yet there are no provisions in the Act to define the relation of the new body to the old, and no formal clause conferring on them the privileges of the antient chapter. A fragment at least of the old constitution might have been retained, had this new body of four canons taken the place of four of the *majores personæ* of old time—the Archdeacon of London, the Treasurer, the Precentor, and the Chancellor. But even such deference to antiquity," [or to *utility*—a still more proper virtue in Reformers] "was too great an effort."* So preposterous is the working of this, that, should one of these canons desire to undertake the office and work of Chancellor or Precentor in their own church, he would forfeit his canonry; because, the unendowed offices being filled up by the bishop and the canonries by the Crown, would constitute pluralities!† No other church has this disability.

* Reg. Statutorum .. S. Pauli, Lond. p. lxviii.

† Another smaller and more ludicrous specimen of the style of work is that, at cathedrals where the Names of Office are over each stall, and form the sole key to the statutes, and designate each house of residence, and are in the mouth of every townsman, and are the only names known, and, above all, have acted to keep alive the sense of work to be expected and to be done, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners since 1840 address their communications to the Precentor, or Chancellor, as "*The Reverend The Incumbent of Canonry Number One, Canonry Number Two,*" &c. Neither the "Incumbent" himself, nor the postman himself ascertains which canon is meant until the letter has been opened.

Where the dignities are still held by residentiaries the incumbent is not discharged of the duties of his office by the confiscation of any separate estate once attached to his dignity. Not endowment, but position is the essence of a canonry. The duty belonged to the office centuries before the estate was added. Such added estates were usually meant to bear some charge now extinct. And now there is a dividend (a principle more antient and better than that of separate estates) often larger than the old income, and there is the antient title of honour.

(3) The perpetual residence of the canons would probably lead to the *resigning of parochial cures.* This might imaginably not be everywhere necessary, yet it would seem to be pure gain. The prebendary is no longer needed to be the well-to-do civiliser of a rural, unsettled district. His prebend has become a simple parochial cure, and his presence is wanted at the cathedral church. Even in the time of Grosseteste, even earlier in the time of Hugh, we have seen that those statesmen-bishops felt the latter need to be growing more urgent than the former, and would appoint no one to a stall who would not promise constant residence. The bishops have it still in their own hands. But, indeed, the difficulty is now less than it ever was. The canon's income is become a stipend; it is not derived from a separate estate, and if canonical work becomes a reality, the

stipend will like other stipends be made adequate.* A canon who kept a "major residence" antiently had larger allowances than those who resided on their cures, and the regulation is sufficiently simple.

(4) We shall need the gradual but extensive *restoration of suspended canonries.* The havoc wrought by the statutes, 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113, and those succeeding it, when, for the time being, by the felling of more than 460 prebends,† "the antient polity of the Church of England was ruthlessly broken up," left us still this permission to pick ourselves up again. "Power is given to remove the suspension of a canonry if an endowment of £200 a year is provided."‡ This important provision leaves us not permanently crippled, considering what the powers, what the liberality, what the willingness to provide funds for honest work, which are extant in the church. For every distinct round of fixed duties it will be no more difficult to provide such a sum than it is to provide a mastership in a school. And even if we shiver slightly at the thought that the future may once again drink up such foundations,

* It is scarcely necessary to observe that a "poor cathedral" has as much claim on the love and duty of spiritual incumbents as any other benefice. The worst policy with regard to such canonries (regarded for their own sake alone) is to balance them by rich livings.

† The English clergy number about 23,000. Six hundred canonical appointments would not nowadays seem excessive for practical purposes.

‡ First Rep. p. xiii. 17.

the possibility cannot affect the duty of supplying present needs and obeying present convictions.*

"The canonries of the future, then, will be *poor things?*" We have seen that even in the best days some of them were but "*pereviles tituli*," and in this thought we rise at once to higher ground, and to principles which we are persuaded are not dead among us. The revived cathedral societies must be of necessity associations in which, as they always ought to have been, humility and self-denial shall be recognised elements. Those virtues are of an invigorating nature; and we want vigour. They promote companionship, and companionship was of the essence of the old cathedral life, and companionship will be the life-spring of the new societies. The Vicar's College at Hereford, with its common hall (never disused till the fire a few years back), suggests possibilities of associated families which should far excel the old companionships of solitary men, whether as regards happiness or as regards usefulness. There is none of the many benefits which the clerical family confers on the parish (and they have been often dilated on) which could not be multiplied indefinitely by such associations in the city. It is no new ideal. We conjure up difficulties as to how *colleges of families* would work. But the

* A permission amended and facilitated by Mr. Beresford-Hope's Act, 36 & 37 Vict c. 39, and already needing more facilitation.

difficulty felt in England, and at Lincoln itself as late as the eleventh century, was as to how *colleges of celibates* would work. Henry of Huntingdon, himself a Canon, was son of Nicolas, Archdeacon of Huntingdon and Cambridge, and Canon Residentiary of Lincoln, that "Stella Cleri, Splendor Nicolai," so affectionately commemorated by the son, who dwells bitterly on the anti-matrimonial policy and inconsistency of Rome.

The vulgar objection which may be raised from the pitifulness and pettiness of life is one which ought to melt away, as society advances, before the steadfast application of true principles of self-denial and humility. Truth and reality of daily life, severe simplicity with perfect culture would be, next to its spirit of worship and work, the dearest heritage of such a corporation. Such societies would be strong to restore what it is denied to the individual to effect; a veritable—may we not say it without offence?—a *Greek* union of simplicity with dignity: *φιλοκαλεῖν μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἄνευ μαλακίας.*

Societies have arisen and done their work on these principles against far more and greater impediments, and with far less to sweeten and to sanctify. "Les pères de familles, ils sont capables de tout." The sting of Talleyrand's evil wit lies, as in so many of his sayings, in the very fact that he describes his objects by inverted ideals of their class. The "father of the family" is one who by

his very duty to that family ought in idea to be, and commonly is, rendered by them incapable of what can sully or corrupt; for them he grows to hate what is ignoble, by them he forgets self-seeking. But make that father of the family a voluntary priest, and let a company of such priests with their houses, and "like-minded" laymen with them, be, for the extension of religion, for the "kindling of a greater natural light," for the help of the helpless, together dedicated and associated by the most powerful motives and resolutions, by the most splendid memories of the past, by the most trustful hopes of the future, in a word, by devoted love to Christ and His Church, and let the wholesome light of public life stream ever in on the society and its work, and once again we should possess such a Vehicle of that Word "which is powerful to the casting down of strongholds," as might face the evils of our time, and last until the old age of all human needs. It would have all elements of durability. It would be calm and strong. The Spirit of Reverence and the Spirit of Progress would dwell in it together.

ADDRESS

TO THE

FIRST DIOCESAN CONFERENCE OF TRURO

Oct. 26, 1877.

ON THE CATHEDRAL BODY.

"In Thy book were all my members written
Which day by day were fashioned
When as yet there was none of them."

ON THE CATHEDRAL BODY, TRURO.

THIRTY years ago cathedral bodies were in the very depth of unpopularity. Nothing but some Heaven-born instinct in the English people then prevented their extinction. They were mutilated, yet that "there was some good thing to be found in them"—in these antient and universal societies—was still believed.

Even then a foreign liberal thinker shared with England's most liberal Churchman and educationalist his horror at the parliamentary mania that was bent on dribbling away the cathedral funds which should have been kept together for such church purposes as had grandeur and greatness in them. "The cathedrals," wrote Bunsen to Arnold, "ought to be the fountains both of practical and theoretical divinity." "The chapters," he wrote again, "ought to share in the government of the church, as the 'Book of Canons' intends them to do, and as they do in other countries."

Towards such large and noble views the church reaction moves slowly but surely. The cathedrals have long regained their place in public interest.

Their mutilation is a subject of grief to men who now see what they might have done. Victimised first by the ministers of George II., who in an age of bribery found them the least costly kind of bribes; next, farmed by men of business, who, by birth or political connection, stood within reach of them; who "took orders" with a view to accumulating their leases on themselves and their families, under a vicious system now impossible; who regarded their commanding positions as *otium cum dignitate*, and who often amassed large wealth by unscrupulous pluralism, these old mother churches became mere camps entrenched alike against bishops and parishes.

Up till the beginning of the period of which I speak, there is scarcely a name of any great church author, or thinker, or preacher, theologian, philosopher, commentator, antiquarian, or sacred poet, who was not a member of some cathedral or collegiate church. After that, until quite recently again, such names are few and far between upon their lists. So that even their defenders, when short work seemed likely to be made with them, only urged that they were venerable places of retirement for worn-out scholars and clergy, and that they were schools of sacred music. Strange that it had to be re-discovered that their one antient character and interest were in exact harmony with the most practical modern needs:—That first, they were intended to invest the

bishop with a council of his learned and experienced clergy; and, secondly, that they had been provided with a staff of diocesan officers, who at the centre of the diocese were charged with functions corresponding to those of our secretaries of civil government. The cathedrals of the new foundation (*i.e.* of Henry VIII.'s time) were less complete in their adaptations, but those of the old foundation, of which Exeter was an admirable type, were simply perfect in their organization. Man's wit has never devised a more sensibly practical kind of institution.

At the head of the canons was the Dean, whose functions lay in the general government of the house, in the chief administration of the estates, the holding of the courts, and the visitation of the numerous dependent churches and parishes. Until the increasing property and the material ramification of a cathedral demanded such headship, there was frequently no dean. None was appointed at Exeter for some two centuries after the foundation of the church; and a modern cathedral, landless, moneyless, churchless, would naturally begin the world without one. Next to the dean was the Precentor, to whom was committed the entire care of the liturgy of the cathedral itself, and also an authority over all the numerous song-schools of the diocese. Then came the Chancellor. He had the direction of all the preaching of the cathedral; was bound to instruct theological students, and was provided with

funds to assist those students and to maintain lecturers. The library of the cathedral and its muniments were also his charge. His duties were onerous, so that a vice-chancellor (from which office strangely enough, the chief resident officer of a far more modern institution is called) was provided to assist him. Lastly, the Treasurer not only had the care of the church and its gear, but was at the head of the diocesan and cathedral charities. These Four diocesan officers, with duties so practical, so useful, so eminently modern (so to say), were to be found in every cathedral, not only of this country, but of the Christian world; and in Greece alike and Norway they exist still. In some of our cathedrals they have become honorary. In others, as Lincoln, they have been perpetuated in function as well as in name, and have scarcely, for even a brief interval, ceased to involve constant residence and the discharge of special duties. Next to these ranked the Archdeacons, whose jurisdiction was exterior to the cathedral itself. And then came the Canons and Prebendaries, sometimes numbering, as at my dear Lincoln, between fifty and sixty, each with an originally separate small estate, in right of which he was bound to attend the bishop's council whenever summoned, to go out a-preaching whenever sent, and to administer the parish to which his estate and patronage belonged.

Singular it seems that when these magnificent

establishments, instead of being really, substantively utilised, were virtually desiccated, the four officers were everywhere left, and even enriched sometimes. At Exeter itself a fifth canonry was allowed to remain, and it was allowed (I may be permitted to observe), on the urgent solicitation of far-seeing Bishop Phillpotts, with an especial view to Cornwall. The prebendal stalls, though rifled, were everywhere left as names of honour, with their old local titles, with their rights and duties of voting and assembling unimpaired. And even in the cathedrals of the new foundation, where no prebends had yet been founded, there were in 1852 attached to each cathedral a body of twenty-four Honorary Canons. About honorary canons it should be remarked that every great writer on ecclesiastical jurisprudence in all centuries has laid it down that the possession of endowment is not an essential element (however convenient an adjunct) to a cathedral canonry. In the history of the Church many a time canons have had no property, have held common property, have been some of them endowed, some unendowed in the same church, have had every farthing confiscated, have even had no daily or common service at all, and yet their status was unaffected, because their position had relation to the council of the bishop and to diocesan affairs, which were unaffected by the accidents of their funds and property.

"There now" (the nation virtually said to the cathedrals in 1852), "we divert your property to other uses; but we leave you your lines of existence — nay, we even bring them out more clearly and fully. Resume, if you will, your place in our respect; win your way to confidence again, as your predecessors did." It might have been supposed that the dispossessed stalls would remain vacant. It was so supposed. The clause which (framed by Bishop Blomfield) preserved those stately outlines when the endowments were confiscated, was passed by the Commons with contemptuous laughter. "What Churchman" (it was said) "will ever accept a penniless post?" When some one asked that at least the fees of institution might be remitted to encourage the maintenance of the old ranks, "No," said Lord Melbourne, "if gentlemen like to wear feathers they shall pay for them." Yet there have never been wanting men to keep up the tradition, and support its burdens, until better times came. It is said no stall has ever been declined in England.

This is the singular line of history, which, to my happiness, has led quite naturally, through Act of Parliament and Order in Council, to the creation, in this 1877, of four-and-twenty Honorary Canonries in the cathedral church of Truro, and to the special provision in that order, "that it shall be lawful for the bishop to make, without the consent of any

dean and chapter, regulations respecting the honorary canons so appointed."

The prebendal stalls in the old cathedrals are, even to this day, inscribed with the local names of the estates and churches with which they were until lately endowed. We have no such names to give to ours. But in a county like this, where the names of places are so lastingly identified with the history of its Christianity through the Names of the great Missionaries who brought us to Christ, you would deem it inexcusable if I tamely entitled the stalls Number one, two, three, up to twenty-four. I propose, therefore, to appropriate to them such local names as shall not only sound true Cornish, but also, by the help of your own distinguished antiquary and student, Mr. Boase, to place them chronologically, so as to read into a record of our own past, and of our connection with the other antient churches prior to the Romish usurpations. And so until the time arrives—and arrive it will—when some grand munificence shall arise, or self-denials shall combine, to found in the beauty of holy order the great cathedral offices, I believe in my heart that there will not fail among Churchmen the devotion to discharge the duties apart from the emoluments.

For I am sure we shall need those Offices, one and all. The decanal stall may, as I said, bide its time until the men and funds to be governed demand

a governor. An archdeacon we have of old who, until we have stalls endowed (I need scarcely observe), ranks above all other ecclesiastics of the diocese. Meantime, the twenty-four canons must have at least an annual president for their council. The rector, who has marked his cordial acceptance of the changed circumstances of the church (of which he is patron as well as rector), by immediately transferring his advowson to the patronage of the see, has further expressed to me his willingness to be advised in the church services by an honorary precentor of whom Cornwall may be proud. Seconded by his liberal churchwardens and sidesmen, the parish, and a partly voluntary choir, he has striven to make a beginning of the daily church service. But, considering that the income of the living is under £100 a-year, I cannot help expressing some confidence that the larger area of the diocese will (in whatever manner it may seem best) offer some kindly aid to what is always esteemed the characteristic of a cathedral church.

As to the Chancellorship a commencement is already before us. I should almost shrink from telling, even to this conference, how serious is our present lack of a young rising clergy, were I not clear that entire, open confidence, with both clergy and laity, is my first duty. I see that a theological college is an absolute necessity. Out of nine men, whom I *must* ordain at Christmas to supply imme-

diate necessities (and for whose character and devotion I have entire respect), only two have had collegiate training of any kind. An honorary Chancellor then we must have. A most true son of the church, who has no connection with this diocese (beyond his former liberal contributions to its revival), has offered us £500 with which to make a beginning. The way to employ this I have already had the satisfaction of trying at Lincoln—there also thanks to the same friendly hand—namely, as providing a small stipend for two years for an honorary Chancellor while the school is forming. If after that we have gathered some students able to pay the fees of £30 a-year, and if the church has friends enough to provide small exhibitions of £20 to £30 a-year to assist poorer students with their fees (a lady from a distance offered, only yesterday, one of £25 a-year), we shall be able to carry on permanently the education of theological students, giving them also thorough training in parish work. And I cannot but think that this will be a boon to our diocese, provided by her good Churchmen at but small cost. My dear friend and chaplain Mr. Mason, who has surrendered his Cambridge parish and his Trinity tutorship for our Cornish work at his own charges, has already begun this work for us with four men, and he will pass it on to a worthy successor, I hope, after Christmas. But he will not here leave us.

He will enter (I expect) upon another work on which I look with gravest hope and much prayerful eagerness—a work on which he will himself speak to you a little later. It is no true reverence to follow up old lines without extending them. They give dignity if we know how to develop them; but if we will not step beyond them on vital call, we make trammels for ourselves, and are most unlike those old founders whom we propose to imitate. Travels and observations up and down this county, inquiry, reading, conversation, and reflection, have convinced me that the work antiently expected of the old prebendaries, who preached up and down the diocese, seconding, aiding, enforcing the work of the parish priest at his own request, is no less required than ever. The tried and weary and often lonely clergyman asks it; the people ask it; their condition asks it. I should be no true shepherd here did I veil the truth from such an assemblage as this. And sure I am that the chaotic religious beliefs, and the inexplicable severance and gulf which in some places exists between moral practice and fervent religionism, do absolutely need this identical work to be done. One Missioner attached to the cathedral will be *unus pro multis*, will stand single-handed to represent the many Mission Preachers of the old idea. But I believe he will not want for helpers, I believe that the mission chapels, fast multiplying, with their lay Readers, who will need some help,

some cautions, some training, will be deemed by us all to offer great scope for such work—to say nothing of parochial missions, which have so happily affected the well-being of many parishes. And I am sure that neither he nor any other man, who puts his shoulder to the wheel to place a cathedral body in a position to do the special works which must go undone unless there is such a body to do them (even though it take years to develop it and though beginnings are to some men tedious), will ever want your good wishes, your liberality, and your availing prayers.

"QVIS ENIM DESPEXIT DIES PARVOS?"

SINCE the preceding Address was delivered twelve months ago, the following steps have been taken in pursuance of its lines:—

Ten honorary Canons have been appointed, instituted, and installed, and regulations made for their governance in accordance with the powers vested by the Act and Order in Council in the Bishop. The Senior Honorary Canon has become Treasurer.

One of the honorary Canons has entered on the work of chief Missioner in the diocese: lecturing, preaching, and assisting parochial clergy in many important places, forming or strengthening various organizations. He has taken a house, and expects the assistance shortly of other devoted friends.

Another honorary Canon has undertaken the duties of Chancellor of the cathedral. The Theological College already numbers eighteen students; a Hostel has been opened, and two bursaries formed for assisting students.

The cathedral service has been made more effective by the appointment of another clerical Vicar.

A second archdeaconry has been formed by a division of the diocese, and the "Archdeacon of Bodmin" has been appointed, and has held his primary visitation.

The Act of Parliament introduced by the Government, has been carried, transferring to Truro cathedral the endowment of the fifth canonry of Exeter. This was originally retained to that see on account of its inclusion of Cornwall. It will be divided to form two Residentiary Canonries at Truro. The generous consents of the Bishop, Dean and Chapter of Exeter, to this transference deserve the warm thanks of the Cornish diocese.

The Truro Chapter Act further provides for the application of any fund which may be raised for the Foundation of new canonries.

The County, under the Lord Lieutenant, has entered upon the erection of a suitable cathedral. £28,000 has been hitherto subscribed. The making of designs for the work has been entrusted to J. L. Pearson, Esq., A.R.A., as architect. It is intended to commence a choir and transept so soon as sufficient funds shall have been raised.

Thus, although the completion of such a work far outpasses the resources of a county subscription, and although there are at present no endowments for clergy, or choir, or theological college, or missions, we acknowledge with a thankful heart the sympathy universally expressed towards these good works.

DEO GRATIAS.

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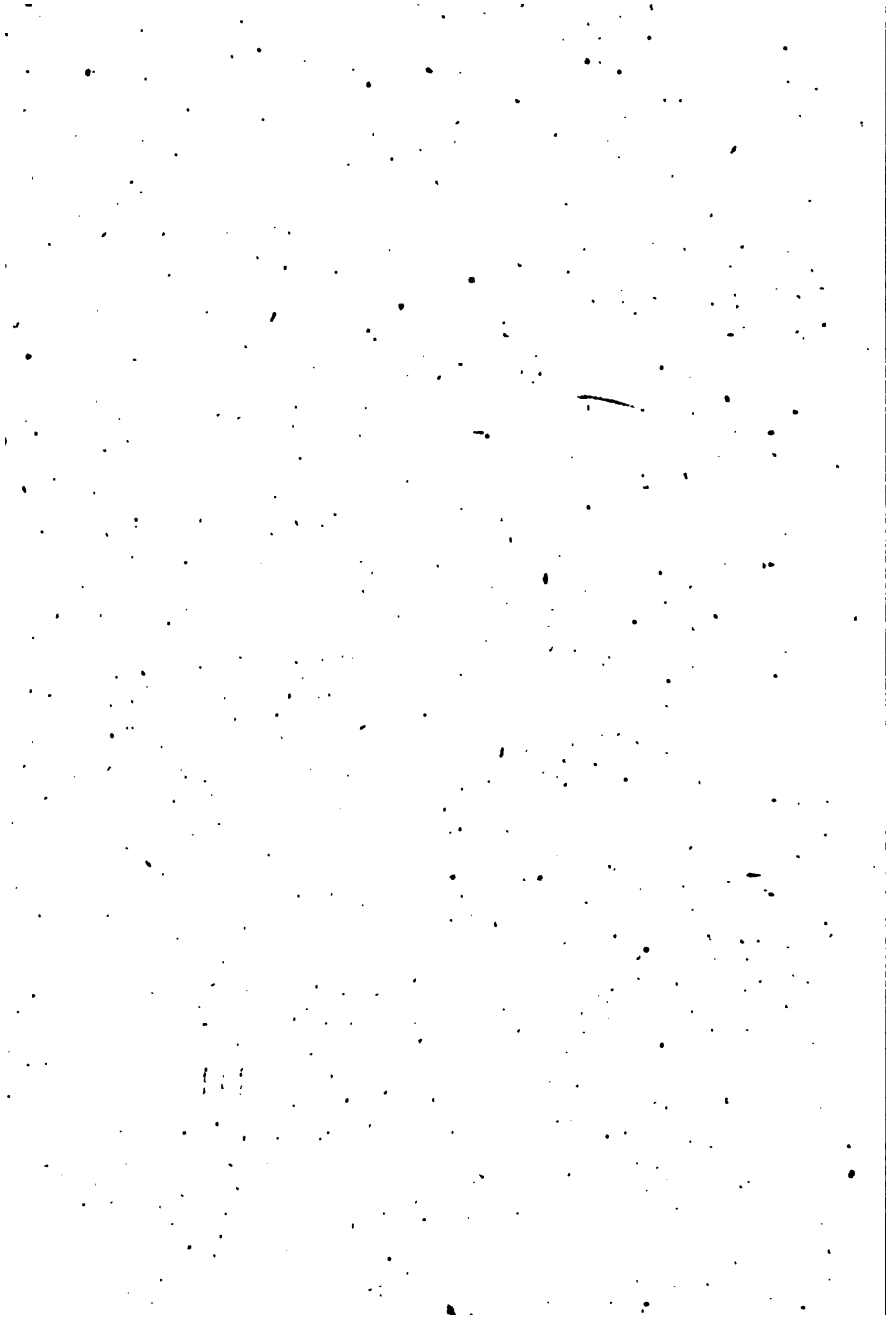

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